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**The Itinerary  
of  
Fynes Moryson  
In Four Volumes  
Volume IV**

**GLASGOW**

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**MCMVIII**

# An Itinerary

Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through  
the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmer-  
land, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke,  
Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England,  
Scotland & Ireland

Written by  
FYNES MORYSON  
GENT.

VOLUME IV

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**The Fourth Volume**  
**OF**  
**The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson**



Chap. III.

[III. ii. 75.]

Of Germany, Boemerland and Sweitzerland, touching the Geographickall description, the situation, the fertilitie, the trafficke, and the diet.



He Geographers search out the greatnesse of the Globe, and of all the parts in the superficies thereof, by the helpe of the Celestiall circles, fitted to the Convex or bending of the earth. The circles of heaven are of two sorts, the greater and the lesse. The greater are sixe in number, the Æquator, Zodiacke, two Coluri, Meridian and Horizon. Of which the Geographers in the description of the World, onely make use of the Æquator and Meridian. The Æquator compasseth the middle swelling of the Celestial Sphere betweene both the poles of the world, and the greatest convexitie or bending thereof, from the East towards the West, to which circle when the Sun is come by his proper motion (in each yeere twice) it makes two Equinoctials (that is, day and night of equall length), one in the Spring, the other at the fall of the leafe. The circle in the convex or bending superficies of the earth, that is directly and perpendicularly under the said Æquator, is called the Æquator of the earth, and compassing the earth from the East to the West, divides it into two Hemispheres (that is, halfe Spheres), the Northerne and the Southerne. The Meridian Circle is drawne through the Poles of the Heaven (in which the Meridians meete) and through the

*In generall of Geography.*

*Æquator.*

*Meridian.*



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verticall point (that is the point right over head) of each place, whether the Sunne being come by his accidentall motion (in each day) it makes noone above the Horizon, and midnight under the Horizon (or with the Antipodes.) The Circle in the convex or bending of the earth, directly and perpendicularly under this circle Meridian, passing by the extreme points of the earth that are under the Poles, and by any appointed place in the superficies (or upper face) of the earth, is called a Meridian of the earth. And because there is no certaine number of particular places on the earth, it follows that the Meridians are innumerable, so as every place distant from another towards the East or West, hath his owne peculiar Meridian, divers from the Meridian of another place. Yet for making of maps, and like uses, the Geographers appoint one hundred eighty Meridians, namely, ninty Easterly, and nintie Westerly.

*Paralells.* The lesser circles are called Paralells, that is, equally distant, because having relation one to the other, or to any of the great circles, they are in all parts equally distant. For al lesser circles have relation to one of the greater, and are called the paralells of this or that greater circle. But here onely mention is made of the Paralells referred to the Æquator, which are lesser circles drawne neere the Æquator, from East towards West, or contrary, by the vertical points of several places in heaven, or by the places themselves in the upper face of the earth, & they are the greater, the neerer they are to the Æquator, the lesser, as they are more distant from the same towards either Pole, and the Geographers call them Northerne Paralells which are neare the Æquator in the Northerne Hemisphere, and Southerne Paralells, which are so drawne in the Southerne Hemisphere. Also as there is no certaine number of particular places, so the Paralells are innumerable, insomuch as each place upon the upper face of the earth, distant from another towards the North or South, hath his pecular vertical Paralell. Yet usually the Geographers number 180 Paralells,

## OF GEOGRAPHY IN GENERAL

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namely, ninty Northerne, and ninty Southerne. Of this number are the foure Paralells which include the foure Zones (or girdles), by which the upper face of the earth is distinguished into Climes, and the Æquator in the midst of them, and greatest of them is joyned to them, and makes the fifth Zone.

*The five  
Zones.*

The whole circle of the Æquator or Meridian, contains 360 degrees, whereof each consists of 60 minutes. About 500 stadia make a degree, 125 paces make a stadium, an Italian mile makes 8 stadia, a French mile 12, a German mile 32, so as 1 degree contains 62 Italian miles and a half, or 15 common German miles, and a half, and half quarter.

[III. ii. 76.]  
*Degrees.*

Although the earth be convex (or bending) and spherical (or round), yet in a certaine respect they give to the same, from West to East, or contrarily, a Longitude in the Æquator and Paralells; and likewise from the South to the North, or contrarily, a Latitude in the Meridians. And howsoever the earth in his upper face, by nature hath neither beginning nor ending, yet they appoint the artificiall beginning of the Longitude in the Meridian Circle, drawne by the Fortunate or Canary Ilands; and therefore call it the first Meridian, and so proceeding from it towards the West or the East, they reckon the Longitude of the earth. For example, two Meridians being drawne, the first by the Canary Ilands, the second by any place whose situation is inquired, as many degrees as are found in the Paralell circle proper to the said place, from the first Meridian to the proper Meridian of the place, of so many degrees is the Longitude of that place said to be. In like sort the circle Æquator and the Paralell circle of the place whose situation is inquired being drawne, as many degrees as are included in the Meridian circle of that place, from the Æquator to the Paralell of the place, of so many degrees is the Latitude of that place said to be. As the Paralells are of two sorts, so is the Latitude, namely, Northerne from the Æquator towards the Northerne Pole, and Southerne

*Longitude and  
Latitude.*

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*Zones.*

from the same towards the Southerne Pole. Also the Longitude in like sort, but imaginarily, is said to be Easterly & Westerly, beginning at the first Meridian. The places situated under the Æquator, are said to have no latitude and the places under the first Meridian, no longitude. The Zones compassing the earth like girdles, according to the Longitude thereof, devide it by the Æquator, and foure paralells into five parts, whereof two are temperate, and three intemperate. One of the intemperate, being the middle, lies under the Æquator, betweene the two Paralells called Tropici, and this is called the Torride or burnt Zone, because it being under the Ecliptick line, of the Sunnes yeerely course, is continually burnt with the beames thereof. This Zone in the Superficies or upper part of the earth, contains the greater part of Affrick towards the South, yea, almost all Affrick, (excepting Egypt, and Mauritania, towards the Northerne Pole, and the furthest parts of Affrick towards the Southerne Pole), and it contains the chiefe Ilands of the East Indies. Next to this middle torride Zone towards the North, lies one of the temperate Zones, seated betweene the two Paralells, called the Tropick of Cancer, and the Artick circle, and it contains the greatest part of America, the Northerne part of Affrick and almost all Europe and Asia. The other temperate Zone lies by the middle torride Zone, on the other side of the Æquator, towards the South, seated betweene the two Paralells, called the Tropick of Capricorn, and the Antartick circle, and contains the part of America called Peru, and the extreme Southerne parts of Affrick, and great part of the Southerne World as yet undiscovered. Next to these temperate Zones lye the other two Zones called intemperate for cold, as the first are for heate, and one of them lies under the Northerne Pole of the World, containing Noruegia, and the part of Tartaria lying within the Artick circle, the other lies under the Southerne Pole, which part of the World is not yet discovered.

## OF GEOGRAPHY IN GENERAL

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*Clymes.*

Clymes are tracts compassing the earth circularly from the West to the East, and they are much more narrow then the Zones, and not of equal Latitude among themselves, but as Zones are the greater, the neerer they are to the *Æquator*, and the narrower, the more they are distant from the *Æquator*, towards either of the Poles, so are the Clymes. The Latitude of each Clyme is so great, as from the beginning to the end of it, the greatest Solstitial day may increase halfe an hower. And because this variation of the day, in parts most remote from the *Æquator*, happens in shorter distances of the earth, therefore the Clymes also most remote from the *Æquator*, are made more and more narrow. In our age wherein great parts of the World are discovered, which were of old unknowne, this distribution of the earth from the Artick circle to the Antartick, may be made into 23 clymes, the Equinoctial clyme not being numbred. But this property must ever bee observed, that the Solstitiall day of the following clime, is ever half an hour longer, then the solstitial day of the foregoing clime. The first clime aswell from the Equator towards the North, as from it towards the South is placed, where the greatest day containes 12 houres & a halfe, & that is next to the *Æquator* on either side. The second where the greatest day containes 13 houres. The third where it containes 13 houres & an halfe. The fourth where it containes 14 houres. And so forward, till you have numbred the 23 clime, making the day of 23 houres & a halfe, & so come to one of the said circles, Arctick towards the North, or Antartick towards the South, where in the Solstitial day of the one half of the yeere, the Sun shines 24 houres above the Horizon, & the night is but a moment, & on the contrary, in the solstitial day of the other halfe of the yeere, the Sun is hidden 24 hours under the horizon, & the day is but a moment: but beyond these circles, this distribution of the earth into climes ceaseth, because after the day is no more increased by halfe houres, but the oblique horizon on both sides, hideth certaine portions of the

[III. ii. 77.]



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1605-17.

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*Parts of the  
World.*

*Of Germany,  
Sweitzerland,  
& Bohemia.*

*Upper  
Germany,  
containing  
Sweitzerland.*

Ecliptick, about the solstitial points, which are perpetual appearings or hidings, & when the Sun passeth them, it makes continual day for some weekes, yea, for some moneths, or the like continuall night, til you come to one of the Poles, under which there is continual day for the six summer moneths, and likewise continuall night for the six winter moneths. The Earth is divided into five parts, Asia, Africk, Europe, America, and Terra Australis, or Southland (not yet discovered). Now I must speake of the parts of Europe & Asia seated in the temperate Zone towards the North, and under the Northern latitude & Easterly longitude, which must alwaies be observed for the understanding of the descriptions now following. The oriental longitude, (namely from the first meridian towards the East) of Germany, with Sweitzerland & Boemerland, from the 23 degree to the 46 degree, extends it selfe 23 degrees. The Northern latitude, (namely from the Equinoctial to the North), of the same Countries, from the paralell of 45 degrees & a halfe, to the paralel of 55 degrees & a halfe, extends it selfe 10 degrees. Germany is divided into the upper & the lower. The upper lying upon the Alpes, & neere the River Danow, is subdivided into 11 Provinces, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Athesis, Rhetia, Vindelicia, Bavaria, Suevia, Helvetia, (or Sweitzerland) Alsatia, & the Tract upon the River Rhein to Metz. 1 Austria was of old called the upper Pannonia, of the bridges or of the Peones comming out of Greece to inhabit it, and also Avaria, now it is vulgarly called Oestreich, that is, the Easterly Kingdome. Danow the great river of Europe (which going on the course, is called Isther) runs through it, & divides it into Austria on this side, & on the far side of Danow. It hath many ancient & famous Cities whereof the chiefe is Vienna, (vulgarly Wien) built upon the banke of Danow, famous not so much for the University, & the trafficke of the place, as for that it is most strongly fortified to keepe out the Turkes, & it is subject to the Emperour, as he is Arch-Duke of Austria.

## OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF GERMANY

A.D.  
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2 Styria, of old called Valesia & Iapidia, is a small region in the midst of the Alpes, & was at first onely a Marquisate, whereupon it is vulgarly called Stoirmark, but after by the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, was raised to a Dukedome, & was at this time subject to a Prince of the House of Austria, by division of inheritance. The Cities thereof are Volenburg, Hal, and Griets, (the chiefe City.) It hath two Rivers, Mour and Draw.

3 The Inhabitants of Carinthia, are called Carni, vulgarly Kerntheine. The Easterly and Southerly part thereof is called Carniola, vulgarly Krein, and the inhabitants thereof were of old called Iapides. Here are the spring heads of the Rivers Dravus and Savus, in the midst of the Alpes. The Cities Philac and Clagefort are of small moment. 4. The Athesine Province lies under Bavaria towards the Alpes, between Carinthia & Helvetia (or Sweitzerland) and hath the name of the river Athesis, vulgarly called Etsch, which runs into Italy by Trent and Verona, and is there called l'Adice, and so falls into the River Po. This Province is commonly called the County of Tyrol, the Cities whereof are Brixia and Ænipons (vulgarly Inspruck, a faire Citie.)

5. The names of Rhetia, Vindelicia & Norira, in these dayes are out of use, and the limits of them are often confounded. That is properly Rhetia, which lies between the lake of Constantia (or Costnetz) towards the North, and the high top of the Alpes towards the South, whose chiefe City is Bregants, & the inhabitants of these Alpes are vulgarly called Grisons.

6 Vindelicia is the other part of that tract, lying [III. ii. 78.] betweene the Danow and the Alpes, which hath faire Cities, as Augusta Vindelicorum, (vulgarly Augsburg, a famous City), Ulme, Ingolstad, Ratisbona, (vulgarly Regenspurg) and Passaw. Observe that the old limits of Rhetia, did reach to Verona and Como in Italy, but now great part of it is laid to Suevia in Germany, as namely the Cities, Augsburg and Ulme, aforesaid.

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7 The Countries of Bavaria, and of the Bishopricke of Saltzburg, were of old called Vindelicia Noracum, and the Inhabitants thereof, Taurisci, and it hath these Cities, Scherdung, Saltzburg, and Lintz.

Suevia stretcheth into old Vindelicia, and that which at this day is so called, contains the greater part of Rhetia and Vindelicia. The Suevians (vulgarly Schwaben) of old forsooke their dwelling upon the River Elve, and invaded upper Rhetia, which to this day they hold. The Cities thereof are Nerlingen, Gepingen, and the foresaid Ulme and Augsburg.

9 Helvetia (or Sweitzerland) was of old part of Gallia Belgica, now is reckoned as part of Germany. The head spring of the Rheine, (the second River of Germany, next in greatnesse to the Danow), is in the highest Alpes of Helvetia, where it riseth in two heads, and the Northerly head falling from the Mountaines Furca and Gotardo, is called the fore Rheine, and the Southerly head, falling from the Lepontine Mountaines, is called the hinder Rheine, both which running towards the East, are united at Chur, and then with the name of Rheine, it fals towards the North violently from the Mountaines. Helvetia hath many and very famous Cities, namely, Schaffhusen, (as the houses of boats or ships) Constantia (vulgarly Costnetz), Tigurum (vulgarly Zurech) Solodurum (or Solothurn), Bern, Lucern, & Geneva, with Losanna, which two last of old were reckoned in Savoy, but now are confederate with the Sweitzers. The Inhabitants of Helvetia are commonly called Sweitzers, and among themselves they will be called Eidgenossen, that is; partakers of the sworne league. The part of Helvetia betweene the Rheine and the lake of Constantia, is called Brisgoia, vulgarly Brisgaw, (Bris signifies a price, and Gaw a meadow), and therein is the spring-head of the River Danow, and the Townes thereof are Rotwill, Brisach, Friburg, (an University) Basil (a famous University), of old belonging to Alsatia, now confederate with the Sweitzers.



## OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF GERMANY

A.D.  
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10 Alsatia, so called of the river Illa running through it, is divided into the upper & the lower: The upper from Basil to Strasburg is called Singaw, and the Inhabitants of old were called Tribocchi, and Tribotes: some hold Strasburg of old to have beene the chiefe City thereof, but it hath now three Cities, Basil, Selestade, and Rusach. The lower lying above Strasburg to the Mount Vogasus, hath these Cities, Haganaw and Sabern.

11. For the Tract upon the Rheine: first, above Alsatia towards Metz, the Nemetes (whose chiefe City is Spira), and the Vangiones (whose chiefe City is Worms), possesse the West side of the Rheine. The tract adjoyn- ing is called Vetus Hannonia (vulgarly Alt-henegaw.) Something further from the Rheine towards the Dukedome of Luxenburg, are these Provinces. The County Sveybrucken (also called Bipontanus in Latin, of two Bridges), and the Cities are Sveybrucken and Sarbrucken. Secondly, Austracia (vulgarly Uestreich, as a vast Kingdome.) Thirdly, the Territory of the Elector Bishop of Trier, whereof the chiefe Citie is Treveris (vulgarly Trier.)

On the other side of the Rheine towards the East, the Marquisate of Baden lyes next to Helvetia, whose inhabitants of old were called Vespi. Next lies the Dukedome of Wirtenburg, the Cities whereof are Tubinga and Sturcardia, whereof the former is an Universitie. Then follows the Palatinate of Rheine, the Inhabitants whereof were of old called Intuergi & Phargiones, and are now called Phaltzer, and Heidelberg, seated upon the River Neccar is the chiefe Citie, and the seate of the Palatine Elector.

The lower Germany is devided into nineteene Pro-  
vinces, Franconia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Saxonia,  
Lusatia, Misnia, Turingia, Marchia, the Dukedome of  
Brunswicke, the Dukedome of Meckleburg, Hassia,  
Juliacum, Clivia, Westphalia, Frisia Orientalis, Pomer-  
ania, Borussia, & Livonia, (for I omit Gallia Belgica to be  
handled in his proper place.)

19 Provinces  
of lower  
Germany,  
among which  
Bohemia is  
reckoned.

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[L. ii. 75.]

1 Franconia is an ancient and noble Nation, the inhabitants wherof driving the Romans out of Gallia, possessed the same, and gave the name of France to that Kingdome. This Province hath old and faire Cities, namely, Bamberg (a Bishops seate), Rotenburg, Francfort (famous for the yeerely Marts or Faires), Wirtzberg (a Bishops seate), Mentz or Metz (the seate of the chiefe Elector Bishop), and Nurnberg (a famous City, which some hold to be in Bavaria, but the Citizens doe more willingly acknowledge themselves to be Franckes.) All the Province (excepting the free Cities, and the three Cities belonging to Bishops) is subject to the Margrave of Brandeburg.

2 Bohemia hath a language proper to it selfe, and hath two Provinces belonging to it, Moravia (having his proper language), and Silesia (using the Dutch tongue) and these three make a Kingdome, which is subject to the Emperour, and it is joyned by Geographers to the Provinces of Germany, because the same compasseth it almost round about. Bohemia is not devided into Counties, but according to the Teritories, belonging to the King, or to Noble men and Gentlemen; this being called the Kings land, that the land of the Baron of Rosenberg, or the land of the Popells, and so of the rest. The chiefe City and seate of the Emperour their King, is Prage. The River Elbe hath his head spring in Bohemia, being the third River of Germany, and it runs through Saxony to Hamburg, and after falls into the sea. The inhabitants of Bohemia came out of Dalmatia, as their language witnesseth.

3 Moravia was of old inhabited by the Marcomanni, and had subject to it Bohemia, Silesia, and Polonia: but at this day it is onely a Marquisate, subject to Bohemia, and hath the name of the River Morava. The chiefe City thereof is Bromia, vulgarly Prim.

4 The inhabitants of Silesia were of old called Lugii, Dantuli, and Cogni. The River Viadrus, or Odera, runnes through it into Pomerania, and so falles into the

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sea. Silesia is annexed to Bohemia, and so is likewise subject to the Emperour, as King of Bohemia, and the chiefe City thereof is Uratislavia, vulgarly Bressell, and the inhabitants of this Province are Germans, as well in language as manners.

5 Saxony containes all that lies betweene Hassia, Silesia, Polonia, Bohemia, and the Baltick sea, so as at this day, Lusatia, Misnia, Turingia, both the Markes, and the Dukedomes of Brunswick, and of Meckleburg, are contained therein.

6 Lusatia is a little Region, annexed to the Kingdome of Bohemia. In the upper part are the Cities Gurlitz (an University), and Pautsan, and Siltania. In the lower, Soravick and Cotwick, and the River Sprea runnes through them both.

7 Misnia was of old inhabited by the Hermonduri, and Sorabi, of the Slavonian Nation. It is a fertill Region, and therein begin the Mountaines which Ptolomy calles Suditi, in which are mines of mettals, and especially of silver. The Cities thereof are Misnia (vulgarly Misen), Torg, Leipzig, and Witteberg (two Universities), Fryburg (the fields whereof have rich mines of silver), Dresden (the seate of the Saxon Elector), Remnitz, and Suicania.

8 The Province of Turingia is said of old to have been inhabited by the Gothes, because the chiefe City is called Gota. The Metropolitan City is Erford, being large and ancient, and one of the free Cities of the Empire. This Province is subject to the Duke of Saxony, with the title of Langrave, as Misnia is also, with the title of Marquis.

9 The River Odera hath his head spring in Marchia, and runnes through it, deviding it into the new Marke, and the old. The chiefe Citie of the old is Franckford upon the Odera, (so called in difference of the more knowne Franckford upon the Maene). The new Marke hath these Cities, Berlin, the seate of the Elector, and Brandenburg, of which the Elector of Brandenburg hath

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that stile, and both the new and old are subject to the said Elector.

10 Brunswick gives the name to that Dukedome, and hath the name of Bruno that built it, and is a free Citie of the Empire, strongly fortified, and not any way subject to the Duke of Brunswick, though upon some old title hee hath the name thereof, and possesseth the rest of the Dukedome, holding his Court at Wolfenbeiten, not farre distant from Brunswick.

II. ii. 76.] 11 The Dukedom of Meckelburg, was of old inhabited by the Pharadini, as Ptolomy writes. It hath two Cities, both on the Seaside, Wismar, and Rostoch (an University.)

12 Hassia is a mountanous Country, in which Ptolomy placeth for old inhabitants the Longobardi, the Chatti, the Teucteri, and the Chriones. At this day it is subject to the Family of the Landgraves of Hassia. It hath these Cities, Casseils (the chiefe seat of the elder brother of that Family) Hersphild, and Marpurg (an Universitie.) The tract upon the River Lovia, is devided into the County of Nassaw (whereof the chiefe Towne is Dillenberg) and the County of Catzmelbogen (so called of the Chatti inhabitants, and Melibots a famous Mountaine.) The Bishoprick of Colen gives title to one of the Clergie Electors, and was of old inhabited by the Ubii, of whom the chiefe Citie was first called Ubiopolis, which Marcus Agrippa repaired, and called it Agripina Augusta: but Marcomirus King of the Francks or French, conquering it, called it Colonia. It is a small Country, and the Bishop Elector hath most part of his revenues from other places.

13 Juliacum is a little Region, and hath title of a Dukedome.

14 The Dukedom of Cleve was of old inhabited by the Usipetes, and the City Cleve is the seate of the Duke.

15 Westphalia is a large Region, inhabited by the Cherusci, Teucteri, Bructeri, and the Vigenones, and it hath these Cities, Padeborn, Munster (which the Ana-



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baptists held in time of Luther), Breme (a free city of the Empire, fairely built upon the River Visurgis), and Mindawe.

16 Easterly Freesland lyes upon the River Amesus, vulgarly Emms, and is a County, subject to the Count of Emden, who hath his name of the chiefe Citie Emden: but of late upon some difference he was for a time driven out of that City, so as it seemes hee hath not absolute power over it.

17 Pomerania was of old inhabited by the Hermiones, and lies upon the Baltike sea or Oest sea, and is subject to the Duke thereof. It hath these Townes, Stetin, Coberg, (both on the Sea-side), Sund, Stutgard, and Grippwalt (which lies also on the sea, and is an old Unversitie, but hath few or no Students.)

18 Borussia or Prussia, is at this day subject to the King of Polonia, by agreement made betweene the Polonians and the Knights of the Teutonick order, but the inhabitants are Germans, both in speech and manners. The chiefe Cities are these, Dantzke (a famous Citie, acknowledging the King of Poland for tributes, yet so, as they will not receive him into the Citie, but with such a traine as they like.) Another Citie is Konigspere (the seate of the Duke of Prussen, who is of the Family of the Elector of Brandeburg, but hath the Dukedome in Fee from the Kings of Poland, to whom it falls in want of heires males.) The other Cities are, Marieburg, Elbing and Thorn (which lies upon the confines of Poland, and witty Copernicus was borne there.)

19 Livonia is a part of Germany, but hath neither the speech nor the manners thereof. It was subdued some two hundred yeeres past, and was brought from the worshipping of Idols and Devils, to Christian Religion, yet in the Villages they have not at this day fully left their old Idolatrie. It is inhabited by the old Saxons, and hath these Cities, Refalia (on the sea-side) Derbt (within land), and the Metropolitan Citie Riga (on the sea-side, which the Duke of Moscovy hath often, but in vaine, attempted to subdue.)

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Old Writers affirme (as Munster witnesseth) that the Germanes had perpetuall Winter, and knew not Harvest for want of fruites. This opinion no doubt proceeded rather from their neglect or ignorance of tyllage and husbandrie, then from the indisposition of the ayre or soyle. Yet I confesse that they have farre greater cold then England lying more Northerly, especially in lower Germany and the Provinces lying upon the Baltick or Oest Sea, more especially in Prussen (part of that shoare, which the more it reacheth towards the East, doth also more bend towards the North) where in September my selfe did feele our Winters cold.

And since the Baltick sea is little subject to ebbing and flowing, and the waters therof are not much moved, except it bee upon a storme, it is daily seene, that in winter upon a North or North-West wind, this sea for a good distance from the land is frozen with hard yce, to which the inland Rivers are much more subject, which argues the extreme cold that this part of Germany suffereth. Also neare the Alpes, though Southerly, that part of Germany, having the said Mountaines interposed betweene it and the Sunne, and feeling the cold winds that blow from those Mountaines perpetually covered with snow, doth much lesse partake the heat of the Sunne, then others under the same paralell, having not the said accidents. Upon these Alpes (whereof I have formerly spoken in this booke) the snow lyes very deepe, and covers all the ground for nine moneths of the yeere, yet notwithstanding the vallyes and discents of them lying open to the South Sunne, and taking life from the heate thereof, are very fruitfull. Lastly, in generall through all Germany, the aboundance of Lakes and Mountaines, doth increase this cold of the aire in divers places, except they bee something defended from the same by Woods adjoyning, and in some places (as namely at Heidelberg) where the Cities are almost fully inclosed with Mountaines, the cold windes in Winter doe more ragingly breake in on that side the Mountaines lye open,

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the more they are restrained and resisted on the other sides. As likewise by accident the Sunne beames in Summer reflecting against those Mountaines (though in a cold Region) are so violently hot, as the Cities at that time are much annoyed with multitudes of flies, which not onely vex men, but so trouble the horses, as they are forced to cover them with cloathes from this annoyance. The foresaid intemperatenesse of cold pressing great part of Germany, in stead of fier they use hot stoves for remedie thereof, which are certaine chambers or roomes, having an earthen oven cast into them, which may be heated with a little quantity of wood, so as it will make them hot who come out of the cold, and incline them to swetting if they come neare the oven. And as well to keepe out cold as to retaine the heate, they keepe the dores and windowes closely shut; so as they using not only to receive Gentlemen into these stoves, but even to permit rammish clownes to stand by the oven till their wet clothes be dried, and themselves sweat, yea, to indure their little children to sit upon their close stooles, and ease themselves within this close and hot stove (let the Reader pardon my rude speech, as I bore with the bad smell), it must needes be, that these ill smelles, never purged by the admitting of any fresh ayre, should dull the braine, and almost choke the spirits of those who frequent the stoves. When my selfe first entred into one of them, this unwonted heate did so winde about my legges, as if a Snake had twined about them, and made my head dull and heavy: but after I had used them, custome became another nature, for I never enjoyed my health in any place better then there. This intemperatenesse of cold, is the cause that a Lawrell tree is hardly to be found in Germany, and that in the lower parts towards Lubeck, they keepe Rosemary within the house in eartherne pitchers filled with earth, as elsewhere men preserve the choice fruits of the South, yet can they not keep this Rosemary (when it prospers best) above three yeeres from withering. For this cause also, they



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have no Italian fruits in Germany, onely at Prage I did see some few Orange trees, preserved in pitchers full of earth, by setting them fourth in the heate of the Summer dayes, and after drawing them into houses, where they were cherished by artificiall heate. And the like fruits I did see at Heidelberg in the Pallatine Electors Garden, growing open in Summer, but in winter a house being built over them, with an oven like a stove, and yet these trees yeilded not any ripe fruit, when as at London and many parts of England more Northerly then those parts of Germany, we have Muske Mellons, and plenty of Abricots growing in Gardens, which for quantitie and goodnesse are not much inferiour to the fruits in Italy. Also this cold is the cause, that in Misen (where they plant vines) and in the highest parts of Germany on this side the Alpes (where they make wine thereof) the Grapes and the wine are exceeding sower. Onely the wines upon Neccar, and those upon the West side of the Rheine, are in their kinds good, but harsh and of little heate in the stomacke.

[III. ii. 78.] The cherries called Zawerkersen, are reasonable great, but sower. And the other kind called Wildkersen, is little and sweete, but hath a blacke juyce, unpleasing to the taste. They have little store of peares or apples, and those they have are little, and of small pleasantnesse, onely the Muskadel peare is very delicate, especially when it is dried. And the Germans make good use of those fruits they have, not so much for pleasure when they are greene, as for furnishing the table in Winter. For their Peares, and Apples, they pare them, and drie them under the Oven of the stove, and then dresse them very savorly with Cynamon and Butter. In like sort they long preserve their cherries drie, without sugar, and the greater part of their cherries they boyle in a brasse cauldron, full of holes in the bottome, out of which the juce falles into another vessell, which being kept, growes like marmalade, and makes a delicate sauce for all roasted meates, and will last very long, as they use it. The Italians have a

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Proverb, Dio du i panni secondo i freddi; that is, God gives cloathes according to the colds, as to the cold Muscovites hee hath given furies, to the English wooll for cloth, to the French divers light stuffes, and to Southerlie people stoore of silkes, that all Nations abound- ing in some things, and wanting others, might be taught, that they have neede of one anothers helpe, and so be stirred up to mutuall love, which God hath thus planted betweene mankind by mutuall trafficke. For this must be understood not onely of clothes, but also of all other things necessary for human life.

Germany doth abound with many things necessary for life, and many commodities to be transported. For great Cities, and Cities within land (of which Germany hath store) those argue plenty of commodities to bee transported, and these plenty of foode to nourish much people. And since that paradox of Cicero is most true, that small causes of expence rather then great revenues, make men rich, surely by this reason the Germans should bee most rich. They never play at Dice, seldome at Cardes, and that for small wagers. They seldome feast, and sparingly, needing no sumptuary Lawes to restraine the number or costlinesse of dishes of sawces. They are apparrelled with homely stuffes, and weare their clothes to the uttermost of their lasting, their houshold stufte is poore, in gifts they are most sparing, and onely are prodigall in expences for drinking, with which a man may sooner burst, then spend his patrimony. They have Corne sufficient for their use, and the Merchants in the Cities upon the sea coast, export Corne into Spaine, aswell of their owne, as especially of that they buy at Dantzke. They want not Cattle of all kinds, but they are commonlie leane and little, so are their horses many in number, and little in stature, onely in Bohemia they have goodly horses, or at least great and heavy, like those in Freeseland: but I remember not to have seene much cattle, or great heards thereof, in the fields of any Towne, the reason whereof may be gathered out of the following discourse of the

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Germans diet. Their sheepe are very little, bearing a course wooll, and commonly blacke, which they export not, but make course cloath thereof for the poorer sort, the Gentlemen and for the most part the Citizens wearing English cloath. The libertie of hunting commonly reserved to Princes, and absolute Lords, and they have great store of red Deare, feeding in open Woods, which the Princes kill by hundreds at a time, and send them to their Castles to be salted, using them in stead of beefe for the feeding of their families. They have no fallow Deare, except some wild kinds upon the Alpes. They have great store of fresh fish in Lakes, Ponds, and Rivers, among which the Lakes of Sweitzerland are most commended. At Hamburg they catch such plentie of Sallmons, as it is a common report, that the servants made covenant with their Masters, not to bee fed therewith more then two meales in the weeke, and from thence great plentie of Sturgeon is exported. Either the cold drives away birds, or else they labour not to take them; for I did seldome see them served at the table, but onely Sparrowes, and some few little birds.

[III. ii. 97.] In all their Rivers I did never see any Swannes, yet they say, that at Lubeck, and about private Castles of Gentlemen, they have some few. They say that they have some mines of Gold: but surely they abound with mines of Silver above all Europe, and all mettals where so ever found, are by a Law of the Golden Bull appropriated to the Emperour, and to the Electors, in their severall dominions. Also they abound with copper and brasse, wherewith they cover many Churches, but within forty yeeres past, the English have brought them Leade, which they use to that and other purposes. Also they have great plenty of Iron, and they have Fountaines yeelding most white Salt, in Cities farre within the land, which Cities are commonly called Halla. Austria beyond the Danow yeelds excellent Saffron, and at Judiburg in Styria growes store of Spica Celtica (as the Latin Herbalists call it.) In the season of the yeere yellow Amber is plenti-

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fully gathered upon the Sea coast of Prusia and Pomerania. The Germans export into forraigne parts, and there sell many curious and well prised workes of manuell Art. And it is worth the consideration, that the Citizens of Nurnberg, dwelling in a sandy and barren soile, by their industrie, and more specially by their skill in these manuell Arts, live plentifully, and attaine great riches, while on the contrary, the inhabitants of Alsatia the most fruitfull Province of all Germany, neglecting these Arts, and content to enjoy the fatnesse of their soyle in slothfull rest, are the poorest of all other Germans. Moreover, the upper part of Germany abounds with Woods of Firre, which tree (as the Lawrell) is greene all Winter, and it hath many Okes also upon the Alpes, and not else where, and lower Germany, especially towards the Baltick Sea, aboundeth with Woods of Oke. They convey great store of wood from the Alpes into the lower parts, by the River Rheine, cutting downe whole trees, and when they are marked, casting them one by one into the River, to be carried downe with the violent streame thereof, or otherwise binding many together, to floate downe, with men standing upon them to guide them. And at many Cities and Villages, they have servants, which know the trees by the markes, and gather them up in places, where they may best be sold.

The Cities that are on the Sea-coast on the North side of Germany, have very great ships, but more fit for taking in great burthen, then for sayling or fighting, which the Netherlanders more commonly fraught with their commodities, then the Germans themselves, neither are the German Marriners much to bee commended. The German Sea in good part, and the Baltick Sea altogether, are free from Pyrats, which is the cause that their ships are little or not at all armed, onely some few that trade into Spaine, carry great Ordinance, but are generally made large in the ribs, rather fit for burthen, then fight at Sea. I never observed them to have any common prayers morning or evening as our English ships

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have while they bee at Sea, but the Marriners of their owne accord use continually to sing Psalmes, and they are punished by the purse who sweare, or so much as once name the divell, from which they abhorre.

And herein they deserve to be prayed above the Holanders, in whose ships a man shall heare no mention of God or his worship. The said free Cities of Germany lying on the Sea-coast, are called Hansen-stetten, that is, free Cities, because they had of old in all neighbour Kingdoms great priviledges, of buying any wares as wel of strangers as Citizens, and of selling or exchanging their own wares to either sort at pleasure, and to bring in or carry out all commodities by their owne shippes, with like immunities equall to Citizens in all the said Dominions, and no lesse prejudiciall to them, then advantageous to themselves.

In England they were wont to dwell together at London, in the house called the Stilyard, and there to enjoy these liberties, which long since have laine dead, the Germans seldome bringing ought in their ships into England, and the English having now long time found it more commodious to use their owne shipping, and justly complaining, that the English had not the like priviledges in the said free Cities, for which cause the priviledges of the Germans were laid dead in England, though not fully taken away. Cæsar witnesseth, that the Schwaben inhabiting Suevia, then containing great part of Germany, admitted Merchants not to buy any thing themselves, but onely to sell the spoyles they got in warre. But Munster a German writes, that these Suevians of schwaben are now the onely forestallers of all things sold in faires or Markets, and that for this cause they are excluded from buying any thing through Germany, except it bee sold in their owne Townes of trafficke.

In generall, the Germans doe applie themselves industriously to all trafficke by land, which onely the free Cities on the Sea-coast exercise somewhat coldly by sea. At  
[III. ii. 80.] home the Germans among themselves spend and export

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an unspeakable quantity of Beere with great gaine, which yeelds great profit to private Citizens, and to the Princes, or publike Senate in free Cities, there being no Merchandize of the World that more easily findes a buyer in Germany, then this. For the Germans trafficke with strangers, I will omit small commodities (which are often sold, though in lesse quantitie, yet with more gaine then greater) and in this place I will onely speake of the commodities of greater moment, aswell those that the Country affords, as those that buy in forraigne parts to be transported in their owne ships. The Germans export into Italy, linnen clothes, corne, wax (fetcht from Dantzke and those parts) and coyned silver of their owne, which they also exchange uncoined with some quantity of gold. Into England they export boards, iron, course linnen clothes (and of that kind one sort called Dyaper, wrought in Misen), and bombast or cotton. Into Spaine they export linnen cloth, wax, brasse, copper, cordage, Masts for shippes, gun-powder, bombast or cotton, and Nurnberg wares (so they call small wares.) Againe, they receive all kinds of silkes from Italy, whereof they use little quantity for their owne apparrell, but send great store over land, to those Cities on the Sea-coast, where the English Merchants reside, to be sold unto them.

For the English Merchants had their Staple first at Emden, the Count whereof used them well, yet in the warre betweene England and Spaine, this place grew dangerous for them, for the enemy often tooke their goods, and made them prisoners, at the very mouth of the Harbour. Whereupon they removed to Hamburg, where being oppressed with new impositions, and being denied the publike exercise of their Religion, they went from thence, and settled their Staple at Stoaden. In like sort the English Merchants trading for Poland and those parts, first had their Staple at Dantzke in Prussen (by Staple I meane their residence in a City, giving them priviledge to stop any forraigne wares, intended to be carried further, and to force the Merchant to sell them

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there, except hee had rather returne with them to the place from whence hee came.) But when the Dantzkers under pretence of the Suevian warre, exacted of them a dollar for each woollen cloath, and asmuch for a last of any other goods, and after when the warre was ended, would remit nothing of this imposition. And further when they forbad the English by a Law to dwell in Poland, the commodities whereof were onely sold there, lest they should learne the language, and find the mysteries of the trade. And lastly when they exacted as much weekly of an Englishman dwelling in the City, as they did of a Jew dwelling there. The English made agreement with the Senate of Melvin for eleven yeeres, to pay them sixe grosh for each cloth, or other last of goods, and to pay as much more in the Citie Kettle, to the Duke of Prussen, for his giving them free passage to Melvin, and so they settled their Staple there. Wherupon the Dantzkers being offended with the Citizens of Melvin, and the Hamburgers no lesse with those of Stoade, procured the free Cities by a publike writing to outlaw, not onely Melvin and Stoade for receiving the English, to the common prejudice of the rest, but also Konigspere (the seate of the Duke of Prussen), and the free Citie Lubeck, for favouring the English in this course, and permitting them being strangers to sell their goods to any other, then the Citizens of each severall Citie.

But I will returne to the trafficke of Germany. I formerly said, that the Germans received all kindes of silke stufes from Italy. From the English they receive woollen clothes, lead, and such like things. From Spaine they bring in their owne ships wine, fruites, oyle, salt, wooll, and more commonly coined silver. And because the trade of Prussen (a German Province, but lately annexed to Poland) is of great importance with all strangers, I will adde this, that the English bring thither great quantitie of tynne, and woollen clothes, with copper, and like things. And that they bring from thence Pitch, liquid Pitch, Hempe, Flaxe, Cables, Masts for

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shippes, boards and timber for building, Linnen cloathes, Wax, minerall Salt (which in Poland they dig out of pits like great stones, and the same being put to the fire is made pure, and being blacke, his colour is more durable, and lesse subject to giving againe, then our boiled salt.) Also they bring from thence pine ashes for making of Soape, and great quantity of Corne. Yet the English seldome have neede of their Corne for the use of England, which many times of their owne they transport to other Nations, but they buy it as the free Cities doe, to transport it to others, and the Low-Countrey men buy it as well for themselves, as to serve Spaine therewith, so as great quantity thereof is distracted into all parts of Europe. The Amber that is brought from these parts, is not gathered at Melvin or Dantzke, but on the sea side of Konigspurg (where the Duke of Prussen holds his Court), and all along the Coast of Curland, where howsoever it lies in great quantity scattered on the sand of the Sea, yet is it as safe, as if it were in warehouses, since it is death to take away the least peece thereof. When it is first gathered, it is all covered over with drosse, but after it is polished, becomes transparantly bright. At Dantzke I did see two polished peeces thereof, which were esteemed at a great price, one including a frogge with each part deerely to be seene, (for which the King of Poland then being there, offered five hundred dollers), the other including a newt, but not so transparant as the former. Some thinke this Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and by these peeces falling upon frogges and like things, this opinion should seeme true, but those trees from which they hold this Amber to distill, abound in Germany, yet Amber is onely found upon this Coast of the Balticke Sea. Others thinke rather that Amber is generated by the Sea, and it is most certaine that Marriners sounding farre from the Land, often find sand of Amber sticking to their plummets, whereof my selfe was an eye witnesse. And Munster holds them to be deceived, who thinke Amber to be a gumme distilling from trees, and

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because it is fat, and burnes being put to the fier, concludes it to be a fat clay, or bituminous matter, affirming that it is not onely found upon the Sea Coast, but often caught at Sea in nets, and he adds that being liquid, it often fals upon, and includes little beasts, which growe with it to the hardnes of stone, and that it smels of mirh.

*The Germans  
Diet.*

The diet of the Germans is simple, and very modest, if you set aside their intemperate drinking: For as they are nothing sumptuous, but rather sparing in their apparell and household stuffe, so they are content with a morsell of flesh and bread, so they have store of drinke, and want not wood to keepe their stoaves warme. And in generall, since they affect not forraigne commodities, but are content with their own commodities, and are singular as well in the Art as industry of making manuell workes, they easily draw to them and retaine with them forraigne Coynes. The free Cities use to have alwaies a yeeeres provision of victuals laid up in publike houses, to serve for homely food for the people, in case the City should happen to be besieged. They commonly serve to the Table sower Cabbages, which they call Cawt, and beere (or wine for a dainty) boyled with bread, which they call Swoope. In upper Germany they moreover give veale or beefe in little quantities, but in lower Germany they supply the meale with bacon and great dried puddings, which puddings are savory and so pleasant, as in their kind of mirth they wish proverbially for Kurtz predigen, lange worsten, that is; Short sermons and long puddings. Sometimes they also give dried fishes, and apples or pearres first dried, then prepared with cinamon and butter very savourily. They use many sawces, and commonly sharpe, and such as comfort the stomacke offended with excessive drinking: For which cause in upper Germany the first draught commonly is of wormewood wine, and the first dish of little lampreys, (which they call nine augen, as having nine eyes) served with white vinegar; and those that take any journey, commonly in the morning drinke a little Brant wein, (that is, their Aquavita) and eate a

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peece of Pfeffer kuchen, (that is, Ginger-bread) which useth to be sold at the gates of the City. They have a most delicate sawce (in my opinion) for roasted meats, of cherries sod and brused, the juice whereof becomes hard like Marmalade, but when it is to be served to the Table, they dissolve it with a little wine or like moisture. And as they have abundance of fresh fish in their Ponds and Rivers, so they desire not to eat them, except they see them alive in the Kitchen, and they prepare the same very savourly, commonly using anniseeds to that purpose, especially the little fishes, wherof they have one most delicate kinde, called Smerling, which in Prussen I did eat, first choked, then sodden in wine, and they being [III. ii. 82.] very little, yet sixty of them were sold for nineteene grosh. The foresaid sawce of cherries, they thus prepare and keepe, They gather a darke or blackish kind of cherry, and casting away the stalkes, put them into a great cauldron of brasse set upon the fier, til they beginne to be hot, then they put them into a lesse cauldren full of holes in the bottome, and presse them with their hands, so as the stones and skinnes remaine in this cauldron, but the juice by the foresaid holes doth fall into another vessell. Then againe they set this juyce upon the fier, continually stirring it, lest it should cleave to the bottome, and after two howers space, they mingle with it the best kind of peares they have, first cut into very small peeces, and so long they boile it and continually stirre it, till it waxe hard, and notwithstanding the stirring beginne to cleave to the vessell. This juyce thus made like a Marmalade, may long be preserved from moulding in this sort. They which desire to have it sweete, mixe sugar with it, and others other things according to the taste they desire it should have. Then they put it into earthen pitchers, and if it beginne at any time to waxe mouldie, they put these pots into the Oven, after the bread is baked and taken out. Also these pitchers must be close stopped, that no aire may enter, & must be set where no sunne or continuall heate comes. Lastly, when

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they will make ready this sawce, they cut out a peece of the said juice, and mingle with it a little wine to dissolve it, (with vineger, or sugar, or spices, according to their severall appetites), and so boile it againe some halfe hower.

In Saxony, Misen, and those parts, they sometimes serve to the Table a calves head whole and undevided into parts, which to us strangers at the first sight seemed a terrible dish gaping with the teeth like the head of a Monster, but they so prepare it, as I never remember to have eaten any thing that more pleased my taste. They use not for common diet any thing that comes from the Cow, neither have I observed them to have any butter in Saxony, or the lower parts of Germany, but they use a certaine white matter called smalts in stead of it, not tasting like our butter. They doe not commonly eate any cheese, neither remember I that I ever tasted good cheese there, excepting one kind of little cheese made of Goats milke, which is pleasant to eate: but salt and strong cheeses they sometimes use to provoke drinking, for which purpose the least crum is sufficient. These Cheeses they compasse round with thred or twiggcs, and they beginne them in the midst of the broade side, making a round hole there, into which hole, when the cheese is to be set up, they put some few drops of wine, that it may putrifie against the next time, when they eate the mouldy peeces and very creeping maggots for dainety morsels, and at last the cheese becomes so rotten and so full of these wormes, that if the said binding that compasseth it chance to break, the cheese fals into a million of crums no bigger then moates. They have a kind of bread brownish & sowrish, and made with anniseeds, which seemed very savoury to me. They serve in stead of a banquet, a kind of light bread like our fritters, save that it is long, round, & a little more solid, which they call Fastnacht kuchen, Shroftide baking, because then and upon S. Martins day, and some like Feasts they use to make it. They use not in any place almost, to offend in the great number of dishes, onely some few Innes of chiefe Cities give plenti-

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full meales. And for the Saxons, they for the most part set on the pot or roast meate once for the whole weeke: Yet in the golden bull they have a law, that Hosts shall not serve in more then foure dishes, the price of them to be set by the Magistrate, & that they should not gaine in the reckoning more then the fourth or at most the third penny, and that the guests should pay severally for their drinke, the Germans drinking so largely as it was impossible to prescribe the rate thereof. It were to be wished by strangers, that not onely drinke should be paid for a part from meate, but that each man should pay the share himselfe drinkes, and no more, so the charges of sober passengers in Germany, having all things reasonably cheape, would not in such measure increase, as otherwise they doe through their companions intemperancy. The said Saxons set the dishes on the Table one by one, for the most part grosse meates, whereupon I have heard some merrily compare them to the Tyrants of Sicily, of whom one being dead, stil a more terrible Monster succeeded him. Here & in these parts of the lower Germany, they use to serve in sower crawt or cabbage upon a voide circle of carved Iron standing on three feete, under which they serve in one large dish, roast flesh and pullets, and puddings, and whatsoever they have prepared, which dish a Countryman of mine did not improperly compare to the Arke of Noah, containing all kinds of Creatures. Also in Saxony, for the first dish they serve in stewed Cherries or Prunes, then tosted or sodden Pullets, or other flesh, and last of all Bacon to fill his bellie that hath not enough. Almost all their Tables are round, and of so great a compasse, as each dish being served one by one, (not as we use to have the Table fully furnished with meate), they that sit at the corners of the Table, are forced to stand on their feete as often as they cut any meate. The Germans seldome breake their fasts, except it be in journies, with a little Ginger-bread and Aquavity. They sit long at Table, and even in the Innes as they take journies, dine very

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largely, neither will they rise from dinner or supper, till though slowly, yet fully they have consumed all that is set before them. And they cannot speak more reprochfully of any Host, then to say; Ich hab mich da nicht satt gefressen, that is, I did not eate my belly full there: Yea, at Berne, a Citie of Sweitzerland, they have a Law that in Feasts they shall not sit more then five howers at the Table. And at Basell, when Doctors and Masters take their degrees, they are forbidden by a Statute, to sit longer at Table, then from ten of the clocke in the morning, to sixe in the evening, yet when that time is past, they have a tricke to cozen this Law, be it never so indulgent to them, for then they retire out of the publike Hall into private Chambers, where they are content with any kinde of meate, so it be such as provoketh drinking, in which they have no measure, so long as they can stand or sit. Let the Germans pardon me to speake freely, that in my opinion they are no lesse excessive in eating, then drinking, save that they onely protract the two ordinary meales of each day, till they have consumed all that is set before them, but to their drinking they can prescribe no meane nor end. I speake of their ordinary diet, especiallie at Innes by the way as they travell: In Feasts their provision is rather full then sumptuous. At Leipzig for meere curiositie, I procured my selfe to be invited to a marriage Feast, in one of the chiefe Citizens houses, the marriage was in the afternoone, and at supper they served in a peece of roasted beefe hot, and another cold, with a sawce made with sugar and sweet wine, then they served in a Carpe fried, then Mutton roasted, then dried Peares prepared with butter and cinamon, and therewith a piece of broiled Salmon, then bloted Herrings broiled, and lastly a kind of bread like our fritters, save that it is made in long roubles, and more drie, which they cal Fastnacht kuchen, that is, Shroftide baking, together with Cheese. And thus with seven dishes a Senators nuptiall Feast was ended, without any flockes of fowle, or change of fishes, or banquetting stuffe,

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which other Nations use, onely there was endlesse drinking, whole barrels of Wine being brought into the Stoave, and set by us upon a Table, which we so plied, as after two howers, no man in the company was in case to give account next morning, what he did, said, or saw, after that time. To nourish this drinking, they use to eate salt meats, which being (upon ill disposition of my body) once displeasing & unholosome for me, and I complaining therof to my Host, he between jeast and earnest replied, that the use of Salt was commended in Scriptures, alleadging that text: Let all your speeches be seasoned with salt, and then said he much more should our meates be thus seasoned. Salt thus pleaseth their pallat, because it makes the same dry, and provokes the appetite of drinking. For which cause also, when they meet to drink, as they dine with dried pork, and beefe heavily salted, together with cheese sharpe like that of Parma, so when the cloth is taken away, they have set before them rawe beanes, waternuts, (which I did see onely in Saxony), and a loafe of bread cut into shives, all sprinckled with salt and pepper, the least bit whereof will invite him to drinke that hath least need. And to say truth, Porke dried, or Bacon, is so esteemed of the Germans, as they seeme to have much greater care of their Hogges then of their Sheepe, or other Cattle. For in the morning when they turne them forth, they scratch them with their fingers, as Barbers doe mens heads; and blesse them that they may safely returne, and in the evening when they are to come backe with the Heard, a servant is [III. ii. 84.] commanded to attend them, who washeth the dust from them as they passe by the fountaine, and so followes them till they come home of their owne accord, without any beating or driving. The price of a fat Sow is at least five, sometimes foureteene Guldens, yea, at Heidelberg, it was credibly told me, that a Sow, being so fat, as shee could not at one feeding eate a raw egge, all her intrels being closed up with fat, had lately beene sold for fifty Guldens. With this fat they larde many rosted and

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broiled meates, aswell flesh as fish: And they never eate any Pigges, but nourish them to full growth, so as my selfe and some of my Countrey-men at Wittenberg, desiring to eate a Pigge, hardly bought one for halfe a doller, and were our selves forced to kill, dresse, and roast it, the servants abhorring from such a strange worke, neither could we intreat any one to eate the least bit thereof. When they roast a shoulder of Mutton, they beate the upper part thereof with the backe-side of an Hatchet, or like Instrument, before they put it on the Spit, to make that part tender, which they carve as the most dainty part: yet use they seldome to carve any man, lest they should seeme to desire that morsell themselves, for they hold it a point of civility not to take that is carved, but to force it upon the Carver. They dip their bread in sawces, but thinke it ill manners to dip meat therein, as likewise to reach bread with the point of a knife, and not rather to call for it by hand. Lastly, when the Table is to be taken away, they think to offer him curtesie whose trencher they offer to take up, and put into the Voyder, and will in curtesie strive to doe it. Hee that will abide in any City, may easily obtaine to be entertained for bed and board at a convenient rate, by some chiefe Citizen or Doctor, as I have formerly said.

Now something must be said of Innes by the high way. Erasmus Roterodamus saith, that the Inne keepers of Germany are sordide, that is, base or slovenly: but I would rather say, they are churlish and rudely proud, or rather grave and surley. When you come in, you must salute the Hoste, and happy you if he salute you againe. You must drinke with him, and observe him in all things. For your carriage, you must lay it in the common eating roome, yet there it shall be most safe; and if you will put off your bootes, you must doe it in the same roome, and there lay them aside. You must expect the hower of eating, for they nothing regard him that desires either to hasten or protract it. You must

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take in good part what is set before you, demanding nothing for your owne appetite. The shot demanded, must be paid without expostulation, for the Hosts seldome deceive strangers or others, and never remit one halfe penny of that they demand. Above the table hangs a bell (especially through all lower Germany), by sounding whereof they call the servants to attend. And at Nurnberg there hangs such a little bel under the table, which they sound if any man speake immodestly of love matters or any like subject, and though it bee done in sport, yet it serves to remember a wise man of his errour. In lower Germany after supper, they leade the guests into a chamber of many beds, and if any man have no companion, they give him a bed-fellow. Lastly, all things must be desired and intreated, as if the guests were intertaind of free cost, for the Host thinkes you beholden to him for your intertainement, without any obligation on his part.

Through all Germany they lodge betweene two fetherbeds (excepting Sweitzerland, where they use one bed under them, and are covered with woollen blankets) and these fetherbeds for softnesse and lightnesse are very commodious, for every winter night the servants are called into the warme stove, whereof such fethers as are reserved, they pull the fethers from the quill, using onely the softest of them for making of beds. The bed lying under is great and large, and that above is narrow and more soft, betweene which they sleepe aswell in Summer as Winter. This kind of lodging were not incommodious in Winter, if a man did lie alone: but since by the high way they force men to have bedfellowes, one side lies open to the cold, by reason that the upper bed is narrow, so as it cannot fall round about two, but leaves one side of them both open to the wind and weather. But in Summer time this kind of lodging is unpleasant, keeping a man in a continuall sweat from head to foote. Yet in Country Villages, and many parts of Saxony, passengers have no cause to complaine of this annoyance, since all without [III. ii. 85.]

*The Lodging  
of Germany.*



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exception, rich and poore, drunken and sober, take up their lodging among the Cowes in straw, where sometimes it happens, that hee who lying downe had a pillow of straw under his head, when hee awaketh finds the same either scattered or eaten by the Cowes: yea; where they have beds, I would advise the passenger to weare his owne linnen breeches, for their sheets are seldome or never cleane. They advise wel, who wish passengers to offer the servant drinking mony, that he may shew them the best bed, yet when that is done, this best bed will prove farre unfit to be entered naked, though perhaps the servant will judge it very pure and cleanly. This by experience I often found, once with extreme laughter observing the servants speciall curtesie to me, who taking my reward, brought me to a bed with cleane sheetes as he called them, wherein he swore deeply that no body had lien but his owne mother, which was an old trot of 90 yeeres age. These servants in Innes expect as it were of duty drinking money from all passengers, and boldly demand it, as if it were their right whether the passenger will or no, which they doe rudely in the lower parts of Germany, by offering them a pot to drinke at parting, and more civilly in the upper parts, the maide servants offering a nosegay to each severall guest. This is peculiar to the Germans, none serve or attend more rudely, none more boldly challenge reward.

I have formerly advised English Travellers, first to passe by Germany, that they may there learne patience by serving themselves. For if you come to a shop to buy shooes, the Master bids you to find out your selfe those that will fit you, and then to put them on your selfe, which done, he askes the price, whereof he will not bate one halfe penny, and when you have paid his asking, then the Prentices challenge drinking money as of duty, and the like manner is observed in all other shops, wherein you buy any thing. In the meane time, if in your Inne, you bid the servant reach any thing to you, the same man that when you take horse will in this sort exact

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drinking money of you, will not reach that you call for, but mumbling that you have as many feete and hands as he, will goe away, as if he heard not, or regarded not what you said. The Germans of Prussia neere Poland, are much to be praised for Hospitality, who not onelie entertaine strangers at a good rate, and with much cleanlinesse, and good fare and lodging, (wherein they give cleane sheetes, and if the passenger stay long, change them often, as once each weeke, which in so cold a clime may seeme lesse requisite), but also have in custome, (I speake of the Cities of Melvin and Dantzke), to give their guests weekly a bath to wash their feete, and as often besides as they returne from any journie, which curtesie I never remember to have beene offered unto me, but once in Germany at Lubecke. The Innes of Germany hang out no signes at their gates, but they are vulgarly knowne, and so may be easilie found out, besides that many of them may be knowne by the Armes of Noblemen and Gentlemen: For they hold it a point of reputation, to passe other Innes in the number of these Armes, fixed on the front of their Inne, and upon the wals of the common eating roome, so as I have numbered three hundred or foure hundred such Armes in one Inne. Howsoever Germany abounds with all necessities for life, yet the expence by the way is greater, by reason of the Dutchmens large drinking. In lower Germany, where they drinke beere, a passenger shall pay each meale commonly three or foure grosh, or about 4 lubeck shillings. In upper Germany, where they drinke wine, he shall pay commonly sixe or seven batzen each meale, and if he have a servant, he shall pay asmuch for him as for himselfe. I passed from Stoad to Emden, in the disguised habit of a servant, where I first by experience found, that he who vilifies himselfe, doth not thereby save one penny, since poore fellowes sit at the same Table with Gentlemen, and pay to the uttermost farthing as much as they, howsoever they sit lower, and aswell at board as for bed, are more courselly handled. Yet I say not but such a man may

*The  
Dutchmens  
large  
drinking.*

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save the poore expence of drinking money, which the servants perhaps wil not expect from men of base condition. All Dutch consorts drinke stiffely, and assoone as ever the cloth is taken away after supper, except you presently rise before they set the pot of Schlaffdruncke, (or sleeping cup) on the Table, and if you doe but slip one drop, you shall besides your ordinary, pay equall share with those that drinke all night, till they be drunke and sober againe.

[III. ii. 86.]

*Drinking in  
Saxony.*

And to say truth, the Germans are in high excesse subject to this vice of drinking, scarce noted with any other nationall vice, so that as their Doctors and Artisans, affecting the knowledge onely of one science, or manuall art, doe become excellent therein, so this nation in generall, and every part or member thereof, practising night and day the faculty of drinking, become strong & invincible professors therein. In Saxony, when the gates of the Cities are to be shut, while they that dwell in the subburbs, passing out, doe reele from one side of the streete to the other, as if it were too narrow for them to walke in, while they stumble and fall in the durt, while they by stradling with their legges as if a Cart should passe betweene them, doe for the most part beare up themselves from falling, yet jostle every post, pillar, and passenger by the way, while the gates of the City seeme not wide enough for them to passe, except the wals also were pulled downe.

Spectatum admissirum teneatis amici?

Friends admitted to behold, from laughter can you then withhold.

For howsoever the richer sort hide this intemperance for the most part, by keeping at home, surely the vulgar yeeld this daily spectacle. Yet in truth it is no shame, especially in Saxony, even to spew at the Table in their next fellowes bosome, or to pisse under the Table, and afterwards in their beds. And I know not how the fellowship of drunkards is so pleasing to them, as a man

## OF DRINKING IN GERMANY

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shall with no other quality make so many friends as with this, so as he that wil be welcome in their company, or desires to learne their language, must needs practice this excesse in some measure. When they drinke, if any man chance to come in and sit in the roome, though he be a stranger of another Nation, they doe not onely conjure him to pledge them by the bond of friendship, of his Fathers Nobility, and his Mothers chastity, but (if need be) compell him by force therunto, vulgarly crying, Kanstunight sauffen und fressen, so kanstu keinem hern wol dienen; If thou canst not swill and devoure, thou canst serve no Master well. In the meane time, they like not to drinke great draughts, wherein our Countrey-men put them downe, but they will spend an Age in swoping and sipping. Their Coachmen are in this kind so tender hearted to their Horses, that out of a fellow feeling of thirst, they will suffer them to drinke in standing water, scarce covering their shooes, when they sweat by the high way. The Germans repute it such honour to them to have abundance of wine, as the very Princes strive, as for a Princely perheminence, who shall have the hugest and most capable vessels in his Cellar. Some of these vessels containe more then a thousand measures, each of seventy Cans or Pots, and are ascended by twenty or thirty staires. Out of this vessell they daily draw wine, and being halfe emptied, they fill it up againe: but at the birth of a child, or any like feast, they turne this Monster loose for all commers to tame it, and drinke it out to the bottome. Passengers in the Innes of lower Germany, so make their reckoning at dinner, as they reserve a great proportion to drinke before they take Coach. Once I observed that my selfe and seven consorts after dinner upon a full gorge, had sixteene great pots to drinke at parting, at which time one of our consorts being a Horseman, and not fit to ride, was taken into our Coach, and sitting by me, now laughing, then weeping, and often knocking his head against mine, at last defiled me by casting his stomacke in my bosome, with no

*Princes strive  
for the hugest  
vessels.*



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reproch to himselfe among his Countreymen, but unspeakeable offence to me. When they are sit downe to drinke, if any man come in by chance, each one at the Table salutes him with a Cup, all which garausses he must drinke as for a fine, before he can be admitted into their number, for they are very jealous that any man being sober, should behold their quaffing, so as a man had better fall among the thickest of his enemies fighting, then into the company of his friends drinking. He that reades this, would thinke that they drunke sweet Nectar at the least, or some like drinke inviting excesse; but in lower Germany, sometimes and rarely they drinke Rhenish Wine, commonly Beere, and that so thicke and ill smelling, and sometimes medicinall, as a stranger would think it more fit to be eaten (or cast into the sinke), then to be drunke, wherof a drop once falling on my hand, seemed to me foule puddle water. Their Wines in generall are sharpe, and those of the Rheine small, which [III. ii. 87.] are to be had in their Cities, and when I first passed to Leipzig, and being ignorant of the language, was forced to commit my selfe to a Conductor, and after my covenant with him for my diet, desired him to carry some glasse bottels of wine in our Coach, yet he could not in the way use it temperately, but either would allow us no wine at all, or at one meale drunke off a whole great bottell, as if he thought it a shame to taste it, and not drinke all out at once. Thus as often it fals out in Princes Courts, that a stranger may die of thirst, but he that is acquainted in Court, shall hardly escape sober, so he gave me either no wine, or too much. In upper Germany for the most part they drinke wine, and that with some lesse excesse, then is used in the lower parts, yet so as in this vice they degenerate not from their Countreymen. The Germans of Prussia formerly praised by me, must pardon me if I taske them with this vice as much as the rest. When I passed from Melvin to Dantzke, my companion by the way shewed me a Tower called Groske, where certaine Husbandmen being upon a wager to drinke

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twelve measures of wine, which we call lasts, and use for proportions of Merchants wares, not for wine or beere, did roast upon a spit one of their consorts, because he left them before the taske was performed, and to save their lives for this murther, paid their Prince as many silver grosh as could lie betweene that Tower & the City of Dantzke. In generall, the Germans want not many exemplary punishments and effects of this vice: For many quarrelling in drink are killed, and he that kills, never escapes if he be taken. I remember that a Gentleman of Brunswicke, riding from Hamburge to his home, when he was extremely drunken, was next day found torne in many peeces, by the striking of his Horse when he fell out of the saddle, which was a miserable and exemplary kinde of death. And the like mischiefe befell another while I was at Torge in Misen. And a Physician a familiar friend of mine, tolde mee that many Germans dying suddenly upon excesse of drinking, were ordinarily (for hiding of the shame) given out to die of the falling sicknesse. In their drinking they use no mirth, and little discourse, but sadly ply the buisnesse, sometimes crying one to the other, Seyte frolich, Be merry, Drinke aus, Drinke out, and as (according to the Proverbe) every Psalme ends in Gloria, so every speech of theirs, ends in Ich brings euch, I drinke to you. For frolicks they pinch, and that very rudely their next Neighbours arme or thigh, which goes round about the Table. So for equality they drinke round, especially in Saxony, except in curtesie they sometimes drinke out of course to a Guest; and this equall manner of drinking, they say had his first originall from a pleasant or rather wicked Act, of an undutifull Sonne, who receiving a boxe of the eare from his Father, and daring not strike him againe, did notwithstanding strike his next Neighbour as hard a blow as hee received, desiring him to passe it round about the Table as a frolicke, in these wordes: Lasset umb gehen, so kriagt der vatter auch was; Let it goe round, so my Father shall have it in his course, and so

*Punishments  
and effects of  
drinking.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Drinking  
customs.*

more modestly or lesse wickedly hee revenged himselfe. While all drinke in this manner circularly out of one and the same pot, they scoffe at him that drinckes the last remainder, saying proverbially that hee shall marry an old trot. At Nurneberg, and some other Innes of higher Germany, each guest hath his peculiar drinking glasse set by his trencher, which when he hath drunke out, if he set it downe with the mouth upward, it is presently filled againe, (in which filling the servants use a singular dexterity, standing in great distance from it), but if hee turne the mouth downeward, they expect till in signe of thirst it bee turned upward; for they are such Masters in this Art of drinking as they are served by dumbe signes without speaking a word. In Saxony two use to begin a pot to two, and when each receives the pot, or gives it to his fellow, they curiously looke upon certaine pegs or markes set within of purpose, that they may devide the drinke by the equall ballance of Justice. Sometimes they take three glasses at once upon 3 fingers, and beginning to another, drinke them all of at once, which kind of karaussing they call the crowning of the Emperor. If you begin to any man, you must fill the cup for him with your owne hands, or at least deliver it to him your self, or otherwise for a penalty you must drinke it againe, and some doe willingly make these errors, that they may seem to be compelled to this pleasing penalty. When they are extraordinarily merry, they use a kind of garaussing, called kurlemurlebuff, wherein they use certaine touches of the glasse, the beard, some parts of the body, and of the Table, together with certaine whistlings, and phillippings of the fingers, with like rules, so curiously disposed in order, as it is a labour of Hercules to observe them. Yet he that erres in the least point of ceremony, must drinke the cup of againe for penalty. They hold it a point of reputation, if themselves having sense and memory, can send their guests home voide of sense or reason, or full (as they more gently call drunkennesse); and the better to performe this, they will now



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and then goe out of the warme stove to ease their stomachs by casting, which use makes easie and familiar to them. They seldome or never drinke with their hats on, for sitting in a warme stove bare-headed, they find their heads more speedily eased of the vapours that arise from drinking. Many of the Germans going to sleepe, doe by the advice of the Physitian, put little stones into their mouthes, to keepe them open: for as a boyling pot better seethes the meat if the fier be covered, so the fier be moderate: but if it be extraordinarie great and hot, the potlid must be taken off, lest it boyle over; so it is good to helpe a mans concoction, if he sleepe with his mouth shut, so his diet be sparing or moderate: but in such excesse as the Germans use, not onely the mouth, but (if it might be) the very brest is to bee opened, that the heate of the inward parts may have vent. The Germans sparingly and rarely give any gifts to those with whom they drinke: but if they doe, then (contrary to the custome of the Turkes and Polonians) they willingly make them good when they are sober. And for the most part Merchants, and all traffiquers of businesse, make all their contracts of buying and selling and otherwise with the counsell of the pot. Likewise when they sell houses or lands, they bring a tun of beere or vessell of wine into the streete, and seale the bargaine by drinking with their neighbours, in like sort concluding all their contracts, which agreed upon when they are halfe drunken, yet are confirmed by them when they are sober.

*Physitians  
advice.*

At Prague I remember the Germans did scoffe at a Polake Gentleman, to whom a Dutch Abbot giving a gold ring in his cups, the Polake in requitall gave him his horse of price, and though he did earnestly refuse so great a guift, by instance forced him to accept it, yet in the morning being sober sent for his Horse againe. To conclude, hardly any man will give his daughter in marriage to a man whom he hath not seene drunken, by which in a moment they are confident to conjecture what life shee shall leade with him, since in drinke men lively

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The trade of  
brewing.*

bewray their dispositions, which they can cloake and dissemble when they are sober. And they find by experience, that in drinke cholerike men are prone to quarrels, sanguine men to dancing and imbracing, men possessed with melancholy to teares and complaints, and they who are flegmatike to dull astonishment and spewing. The trade of brewing is more commodious among the Germans, then any other trafficke. So as at Torg, (where the best beere is brewed and from thence distracted to other Cities) onely the Senate hath the priviledge to sell the same by small measures (as also to sell wine), and in the rest of lower Germany, as onely the Senate buies and selles wine, so the chiefe Citizens by turnes brew beere, admitting troopes of poore people into their houses to drinke it out. As the gaine of brewing is great, so Princes raise great impositions from it, and the most rich Citizens or Aldermen (as I said) not onely disdaine not to brew, but even greedily expect their turne, at which time they also sell it by cannes, and have their lower roomes full of drinking tables for the common people, where every man payes for his drinke before his canne be filled, that at least their purse may teach them measure, which otherwise they cannot observe. Yea, my selfe, not without wonder, have seene in a Senators house, poore soules pawne their cloths for drinke, and goe home halfe naked, yet sufficiently armed with drinke against the greatest cold.

[III. ii. 89.]

The beere of Torge is most esteemed in higher Saxony, and the most part at Leipzig drinke no other, yet for their servants brew a small beere called beere of the covent, and a kind of most small beere, which the students call Rastrum, that is rake. There is an Imperiall Law in the golden Bull against Hosts, Mariners, and Carters, who either in Cellers, or Carriage by the high-way, mingle brimstone or water with wine, wherein notwithstanding they daily offend, putting in brimstone to make it heady strong, and water to fill up the measure. There be in the same golden Bull many Lawes made against drunken-

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nesse, at such time as the Germans having warre with the Turkes, beganne to looke into themselves, for reforming of notorious vices; wherein it is decreed, that Courtiers given to this vice, should be expelled the Courts of Princes, and that all Magistrates should search out drunkards, and severely punish them: But give me one Prince free of this vice, who may thus punish his Courtiers. My selfe being at a great Dukes funerall, did see a Prince his neere cozen, drinke so stiffely to expell sorrow, as all his sences and almost his spirits were suffocated therewith, and of many Princes there present, (pardon me to speake truth) I did not see one sober at this funerall Feast, what would these Princes have done at a Marriage? Princes have a custome to drinke by Attourney, when they are sickely or ill disposed, and many times they reward this substitute strongly bearing much drinke, as for a good service to the Common-wealth, yet except they be very sicke, few are found which will not in person performe their owne taske. Give me one Magistrate of so many thousands, who with his owne innocency is armed with boldnesse to punish others. Give mee one, (I am ashamed to say it, but truth is truth); I say give me one Minister of Gods Word, who preacheth against excesse of drinking. My selfe have heard some hundreths of their Sermons, yet never heard any invective against this vice.

*Lawes made  
against  
drunkenness.*

*Princes drinke  
by Attourney.*

Turpe est Doctori, cum culpa redurguit ipsum,  
The teacher needs must be ashamed,  
Who for the same offence is blamed.

Onely the Weomen of Germany are most temperate in eating and drinking, and of all I did ever see, most modest in all kinds of vertue: yet the Weomen of Bohemia use as great (or little lesse) excesse in drinking, as Men, not without a staine to their reputation of chastity. The Weomen of Germany have a custome to helpe their Husbands or Friends, by sipping of the cup; but I did never see any chast woman, (as most of them

*The Weomen  
of Germany  
most  
temperate.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

are) drinke largely, much lesse to be drunken: But for Men of all sorts whatsoever.

Si quoties peccant, toties sua fulmina mittat  
Princeps, exiguo tempore inermis erit:

If the Prince smite, as oft as they offend,  
His Sword and Arme will faile him ere the end.

Thus howsoever the Germans be honest, deceiving neither stranger nor Countreyman, and have abundance of all things to sustaine life, yet strangers, by reason of the generall intemperance of the Nation, are either allured to participate this vice of drinking with them, or at least by ill custome are drawne to partake their punishment in paying of the shot, and through their churlish rusticity are ill entertained, and yet forced to reward the servants, whose attendance deserves nothing lesse.

*Advice to  
travelers.*

It remaines that I should enforme passengers how to apply themselves to the Germans in this drinking custome, so as at least with lesse hurt or offence, they may passe through their territories. For those who passe suddenly through the same without long abode in any place, nothing is more easie then to shunne all participation of this vice, by consorting themselves with fit companions in their journey, so as they being the greater part as well in the Coach, as at the Table, may rather draw the lesser part to sobriety, then be induced by them to excesse. But they who desire to converse with the Germans, and to learne their language, cannot possibly keepe within the bounds of temperance, and must use art to shunne great or daily excesse. Such a passenger sitting downe at Table, must not presently drinke of all the Cups begunne to him from others: for the Germans are so exceeding charitable to all Men, as they will furnish him presently with new Cuppes on all hands for feare [III. ii. 90.] that hee should suffer thirst. He shall doe better to set the cups in order before his trencher, and first to drinke of, those of lesser quantity, but ever to keepe one or two of the greatest, to returne in exchange to him that



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drincke to him. For this kind of revenge (as I may terme it) the Germans feare, more then the Irish doe great gunnes, and to avoide the same, will forbear to provoke him with garausses. For they love not healths in great measures (which they call In floribus), but had much rather sip then swallow. In this kinde I remember a pleasant French Gentleman much distasted them, who invited to a feast, and admonished that hee could not possibly returne sober, did at the very beginning of supper, drinke great garausses, of himselfe calling for them, besides the small healths commended to him from others, which unwonted kind of skirmishing when they disliked, he presently replied: Why should we leese time? since we must be drunken let us doe it quickly, the sooner, the better; and therewith hee so tyred those at the table, as hee found no man would in that kind contend with him. But to the purpose. If the cuppes set about his trencher increase in number, he may easily finde occasion (as when his consorts goe out to make water) either to convey some of them to their trenchers, or to give them to the servant to set away: After supper he may nod and sleepe, as if he were drunken, for,

Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa.

Sometimes the foole to play,  
Is wisdom great they say.

And so hee shall bee led to a bed, which they have in all their stoves, and call the Faulbett, that is, the slothfull bed. Otherwise hee may faine head-ach, or feare of an ague; or if these excuses prevaile not, as seldome they doe while hee staies in the roome, because they cannot indure to have a sober man behold them drinking, then as if hee went out to make water, or speake with some friend, hee shall doe best to steale away, and howsoever hee have confidently promised to returne, yet to come no more that night, no not to fetch his cloake or hat, which are alwaies laid up safely for him, especially if hee foresee the skirmish like to bee hot. But above all, let

*The sloth full  
bed.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

him take heede of the old fashion to take leave of his companions and bid them good night, for the Germans upon no intreaty or excuse will suffer any man to goe to bed so sober. If there bee musicke and dancing, their dances being of no Art and small toyle, hee had much better daunce with the women till midnight, then returne to the table among the drinkers, for one of these foure he must doe, drinke, sleepe, daunce, or steale away, no fifth course remaines. Lastly, let him warily chuse his companions of that Nation, with good triall of their honest dispositions. But with strangers, as English, French and Polakes, let him carefully eschew excesse of drinking. For these, and especially the English, when they are heated with drinke, are observed to bee mad in taking exceptions, and in the ill effects of fury, being more prone to quarrels then the Dutch, and having no meane in imitating forraigne vices or vertues, but with Brutus, that they will, they will too much.

*Boemerland  
and Sweitzer-  
land.*

For Bohemia and Switzerland, that seated in the center of Germany, this on the Northwest side of the Alpes, I have contained their Geographically description in that of Germany, and have spoken something of them in this discourse of Germany. It remaines to adde something of them, touching the particular subjects of this Chapter. The Bohemians drinke the Wines of Hungarie, being much better then those of Germany, and have much better Beere, in regard they have great plenty of Corne, and the Sweitzers drinke the delicate Wines of Italy. Neither of their traffickes is comparable to that of Germany, because Bohemia is farre within land and hath no great commodities to bee exported, and Sweitzerland is addicted to the mercinarie service of forraigne Princes in their warres, changing their cattell for the Wines of Italy, and content with their owne, so they want not plenty of good drinke.

*Of both in  
generall.*

*Sweitz.  
particularly.*

Some Cantones of the Sweitzers make great gaine of spinning wooll, whereof they make pieces of cloth some 134 elles long, and lest covetousnes of private men might

## OF SWITZERLAND PARTICULARLY

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[III. ii. 91.]

prejudice the common good, they appoint overseers to this trade, who punish all fraudes severely and some capitally. For foode, they abound with Hony, Butter, and Milke, and have plenty of Venson found in the wilde Alpes, and especially of excellent sorts of fish, by reason of their frequent Lakes. In publike Innes a meale is given for sixe or seven batzen. They are hospitall towards strangers, and among themselves, they have publike houses where they meete, and shoote with Crosebow and musket, with like exercises. There they sometimes eate together, and invite guests to these houses as to a Taverne. And to the end all things may there be done with more modesty, the tables of the Magistrates and all other sorts of men, are in one and the same roome. In meates they use moderation, and for drinking use farre lesse excesse then the Saxons, somewhat lesse then they of upper Germany. They have strict lawes to imprison Drunkards for a yeere, and at solemne feasts, the vulgar sort are admonished to behave themselves modestly, yet drunkennesse hath such patronage among the best sort, as it cannot be banished. They bragge of their ancient temperance, and say, that excesse came into the Commonwealth, together with the accepting of military stipends from forraigne Princes.

Bohemia abounds with Corne, Cattle, Fish (as plenty of Salmons), Woods, good Horses, but heavy like those of Freesland, and with Niter, which it is death to carry out, yet for gaine of fifty in the hundred, there want not who hazard that danger. I say it hath the commodities, and also produceth Wines, but very sharpe and unpleasant, and hath some mines of mettals. Howsoever it bee much more Southerly then England, yet the Italian fruits (as figges) are there most rare, which in Winter they keepe in cellers, and onely in Summer time set them abroad in Gardens, and in like sort, but with great difficulty they preserve Rosemary, but they have no Lawrell at all. The men drinke (if it be possible) more then the Germans, and are much more subject to gluttony,

*Bohemerland  
particularly.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

and their women swill Wine and Beere daily, and in great excesse, which to the Germans is most reprochfull. In the Innes they give large dyet for some five Bohemish grosh a meale, and upon the confines of Germany towards Nurnberg, for some twenty creitzers a meale. But the Bohemians eate often in the day, and sit almost continually at the Table, and since at Prage, and in many other places, all things are sold out of the Innes, after the maner of Poland, the Bohemians seldome eat at an ordinary, but demand what meate they will upon a reckoning. For the rest, Boemerland and Sweitzerland little differ from Germany, for the diet, the Hosts, the Innes, excesse of drinking, or any like things.

### Chap. IIII.

Of the united Provinces in Netherland, and of Denmarke and Poland, touching the said subjects of the precedent third Chapter.

*Of the United  
Provinces.*



The longitude of Netherland lyes, or extends seven degrees and a halfe, from the Meridian of twenty two degrees and a halfe, to that of thirty degrees, and the Latitude lyes or extends five degrees, from the paralell of forty eight degrees and a halfe, to that of fifty three degrees and a halfe. It is called Netherland, as a Country lying low, and the people for language and manners hath great affinitie with the Germans, both being called Dutchmen by a common name. Of old this Country was a part of Gallia transalpina (that is, beyond the Alpes from Italy) which was subdevided into Comata and Narbonensis, and againe Comata (so called of the peoples long haire) was subdevided into Aquitanica & Celtica, or Lugdunensis, and Belgica. This part called Belgica, contains the Lowcountrie, whose dominion hath been by marriage derived from the Burgundian family to that of Austria, and some divide this Countrie into seventeene

[III. ii. 92.]

## OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

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Provinces, whereof some still remaine subject to the King of Spaine, others (of which I am to speake) being united in league, have recovered their libertie by the sword, and at this time did make warre with the Spaniard about the same. But some Maps, among these seventeene Provinces reckon the County of Valkenburg, which is part of the Dukedome of Limburg, other Maps make Mechlin and Antwerp to bee Provinces, which are both contained in the Dukedome of Brabant. Therefore I better approve those, who divide the whole Country into fiteene Provinces, namely, the Counties of Artois, of Flanders, of Hanaw, of Zeland, of Holland, of Zutphan, and of Namurs, and the Dukedomes of Luxemburg, of Brabant, of Limburg, and of Gelderland, and the territories, of West-Freesland, of Groning, of Utrecht, & of Transisola.

1 The County of Artois hath many faire Cities, whereof Arras is the chiefe, giving the name to the Province, and to those rich hangings, wherwith our great men adorne their Pallaces.

2 Flanders is the largest County, the chiefe Cities whereof are Ghant (where the Emperour Charles the fifth was borne), and Bruges (whether great concourse of Merchants was made of old, so as the strangers hearing no other name but Flanders, did by custome impose the name of Flanders on all the fiteene Provinces, and the name of Flemmings on all the inhabitants.) Flanders hath other Cities, namely, Calleis, Dunkerk, Ostend, and Sleuse, all lying on the Sea coast; whereof Sleuse is a Municipall Village of Bruges, but at this time was it selfe strongly fortified, and Ostend taken from the Spaniards by the States of the united Provinces, was at this time committed by them, and under their pay, to the custody of an English Garrison under Sir Edward Norreys Knight. This Province yeelds plenty of Corne and Flax, and is very rich with making Linnen and Woollen Cloathes. It hath excellent pastures, and is enriched with Cheese, Butter, Oyle made of Rape-rootes,

*Of Flanders particularly.*

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Salt, and the fishing of Herrings, but it yeelds no Wine. The famous Wood Ardvenna lies in the confines thereof towards land, where it aboundeth with Wood, but towards the Sea they burne Turfe, made of earth, and also burne Cow dung.

3 The County of Hanaw hath the Principality of Arscot, united to the Dukedome of Brabant, by which the Dukes sonne hath the title of Prince. The chiefe Cities of this County are Mons and Valinciennes. It hath mines yeelding Leade and Marble of many colours, and a good kind of Coales.

*Of the County  
of Zeland.*

4 The County of Zeland is by situation, the first of the United Provinces, consisting of many Ilands, whereof seven are principall, and the chiefe is Walcherne, the chiefe Citie whereof is Midleburg, famous for trafficke, and the Staple for Spanish and French Wines. Neere that is the City Vlishing, strongly fortified, being the chiefe of the Forts then ingaged to the Crowne of England, and kept by an English Garrison, under the command of Sir Robert Sidney Knight (for the second Fort ingaged to England, lyes in another Iland, and is called Brill, being then kept by an English Garrison, under the command of the Lord Burrows.) All these Ilands are fertile, and yeeld excellent Corne, more plentifully then any other Province, so as one aker thereof is said to yeeld double to an aker of Brabant. But they have no sweete water, nor good aire, and for want of wood burne turffe. They take plenty of sea-fishes, which they Salt, and carry into other Countries. Madder for dying of wooll, growes there plentifully, which likewise they export, and grow rich by selling these commodities, as likewise Spanish and French Salt, and like trafficke.

5 The County of Holland called of old Battavia, and inhabited by the Chatti (as Tacitus writes), is in situation the second of the united Provinces, but the first in dignity. The Cities whereof are Amstelrodam (famous for trafficke), Rhoterodam (where Erasmus was borne), Leyden (an University), Harlem, Dort (the staple for

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the Rhenish Wines), and Delph, all very faire Cities. And I may not omit the most pleasant Village of the Hage, called Gravenhage, because the Counts Court was there, and it is now the seate of the united States, wanting onely wals to make it numbred among the most pleasant Cities, being no doubt a Village yeelding to none for the pleasant seat. This Province doth so abound with lakes, pooles of water, and artificiall ditches, as it gives passage by water as well as by land to every City and poorest Village, (which are infinite in number). And these ditches it oweth for the most part to the River Rheine. [III. ii. 93.]

For the Rheine of old running towards Leyden, did fall a little below it into the Sea, but at this day by reason the Land is low and subject to overflowings, it hath changed the bed, and at Lobecum in the Dukedome of Cleve, devides it selfe into many branches. The first runnes to Arnheim, (a City of Gelderland) then to Vava, Rena. and Battovodurum, where Lecca receives his waters, and takes away the name from the Rheine, yet so as a little branch thereof still holds the name of Rheine, which running to Maastricht, there devides into two, one whereof falls into Vecta, and so into an arme of the Sea neere Munda, the other runnes by Woerden, and after a long course, neere Leyden is divided into five little branches, whereof three fall into a lake, and the fourth turnes to Renoburg, and leaseth it selfe in mountaines of sand, neere the Village Catwicke. I remember that the water falling through Leyden is called Rheine, so as I thinke it probable that all the standing waters lying betweene the severall pastures there, come from the Rheine after it hath lost the name. I said that the Rheine at Battovodurum is called Lecca, which runnes to Culenburg and to Viana, where in a ditch is the fountaine of Isala, which runnes to Iselsteine. Thus (to omit the little branch at Battovodurum) the first branch of the Rheine is lost in the Rivers Lecca and Isala. The second branch bends from Lobecum to Neomagum, and falls into the Brooke Merovius (taking the name of the

*The first  
branch of  
Rheine.*

*The second  
branch.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The third  
branch.*

old Family of Kings among the Gals, where is an old Castle compassed with the Brooke, and of the same name), then running to Dort in Holland, it receives the foresaid Lecca and Isala, and so neere Rhoterodame fals into the Mosa, and under that name fals neere Brill into the German Sea. The third branch of the Rheine running from Lobecum, within two miles of Arnkeime, fals into the ditch of Drusus, (or rather of Germanicus) and so runnes to Dewsborows (the City of Drusus) where it receives the old Isala, (springing in Westphalia), and by the name of Isala or Isell, running to Zutphane, and then to Deventry, fals into Taius at Amstelrodame, and by an arme of the Sea is carried to West-Freesland, and so fals into the German Sea neere the Iland Flye.

5 To returne to my purpose, Holland is little in circuite, but abounds with people and dwellings, and being poore of it selfe, is most rich by industrie, and wanting both Wine and Corne, yet furnisheth many Nations with both. Neither Wooll nor Flax grow there, but of both brought in to them, they make linnen clothes much prised and also Woollen, both carried to the very Indies. I need not speake of Holland Cheeses so vulgarly knowne and much esteemed. Lastly, Holland is famous for the traffique of all commodities, and the Romans so highly esteemed the Fortitude and faithfulness of the old Battani, as they had a Band of them for their Guard.

6 The County of Zutphane is accompted part of Gelderland, and subdued by the States Armie, was joyned to the united Provinces in the yeere 1591.

7 The County of Namures so called of the Cheese Citie, hath Mines of Iron and plenty of stony Coale, contrarie to all other Coales in that it is quenched by the infusion of Oyle. It hath also an ill smell, which they take away by the sprinkling of Salt, and it burnes more cleere having water cast upon it. This County hath also quarries of Free-stone, and of Marble of divers colours.

8 The Dukedome of Luxenburg hath the name of the chiefe Citie, and the inhabitants of the upper part

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are Germanes, but they of the lower parts, are like the French in language and Manners.

9 The Dukedom of Brabant hath faire Cities, namely Antwerp, most famous before the civil War, because Maximilian, of Austria, brought thither from Bruges in Flanders, the famous traffique of all Nations, by a ditch drawne to Sluce (onely to bee sailed upon at the flowing of the Sea tides). At this day forsaken of Merchants, it lies overgrowne with grasse, and the said trafficke enricheth Holland and the united Provinces. The next City is Brissell, of old the seate of the Dukes, and now of the Spanish Governours. Then Lovan a famous University. Then Mechlin subject to the united States. [III. ii. 94.] Then Bergen-ap-zome a fortified City, at this time committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Morgan Knight, with an English Garrison. The Inhabitants of this Dukedome were of old called Tungri.

10 The Dukedome of Limburg hath Mastricht for the chiefe City, & the Bishoprick of Liege pertaines to it, wherein the City of Liege is the Bishops seate, and the territory thereof yeelds a little quantity of a small wine, and hath Mines yeelding a little Iron, some leade, and brimstone, and a very little quantity of good gold. The Mountaines yeeld a black Alabaster, with marble and other stones, especially stony coales in great quantity, which being there found at first, are now called generally Liege Coales.

11 The Dukedome of Gelderland, was of old inhabited by the Menapii and Sicambri, and aboundeth with excellent pastures and meadowes, so as great Heards of Cattle brought thither out of Denmarke to be sold, are for great part fatted there. The chiefe City is Nimmengen, the second Harduike, a fortified City subject to the united States, and the third Arnheim, also subject to them.

12 The Territory of West-Freesland is divided, as Holland, with artificiall ditches, and aboundeth with excellent pastures for fattening of the greatest heards of



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Cattle, and yeeldeth it selfe all kinds of cattle of extraordinary bignesse, as Horses of Freesland vulgarly knowne. It hath many Cities, whereof the chiefe are Lewerden, Dockam, Fronikar (an University) and Harlingen, not to speake of nine other Townes, fortified with wals and ditches. This Territory is subject or associated to the united States.

13 The Territory of Groningen, made part of Freesland by Cosmographers, is also subject to the States, and hath the name of the chiefe City, strongly fortified and seated in a fenny soyle.

14 The Territory of Utrecht is also associated under the same united States, whose chiefe and very pleasant City is called Utrecht.

15 The Territory of Transisole, vulgarly called De land over Yssell (the Land beyond Yssell) is also associated to the united States, whereof the chiefe City is Deventry, which besieged by the States Army in the yeere 1591, was then subdued, and it lies neerer to the Sea. It hath another City called Swoll.

*The situation.*

The united Provinces of Netherland, (through which onely I did passe) have a most intemperate Aire, the Winter cold being excessive, and the Summers heat farre exceeding the ordinary heate of that clime. The reason of the cold is, that the Northerne winds of themselves ordinarily cold, doe here in a long course on all sides glide upon the German Sea, thereby gathering farre greater cold, and so rush into those plaine Provinces, no where stopped either by mountaines or woods, there being no Mountaines, scarce any hils, no woods, scarce any groves, to hinder them from violent passage with their uttermost force. Like reason may be given for the heate: For the same open Plaine, no way shaddowed from the beames of the Sunne by opposition of Woods or Mountaines, must needs in Summer be subject to the heate of the Sunne and winds from land. Adde that in Winter the frequent Rivers, Lakes, and Pooles or standing waters, infinitely increase the coldnesse of the

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aire. These waters aswell running as standing, are almost all Winter frozen over with a thicke ice, so as they will beare some hundreths of young men and women, sliding upon them with pattins, according to their custome. Yea, the Arme of the Sea called Zwidersea, lying within land, betweene Holland and Freseland, though it be large and deepe, having only two flats or shoales, yet being compassed with Ilands and the Continent, is many times in Winter so frozen over, as Victualers erect Tents in the middest of it, having Beere and Wine, and fier made upon iron furnaces, to refresh such as passe upon sledges, or sliding upon iron pattens from one shoare to the other. This cold is the cause, why their sheepe and cattell are kept in stables, to bring forth their young. And howsoever the same be done in Italy, subject to great heate, yet it is not of necessitie, as here, but out of the too great tendernesse of the Italians, towards the few cattle they have. And this is the cause, that howsoever they use not hot stoaves, as the Germans doe, yet the Weomen, as well at home, as in the Churches, to drive away cold, put under them little pannes of fier, covered with boxes of wood, boared full of holes in the top. And this sordid remedy they carry with them, by the high way in waggons, which the Danes or Moscovites use not, though oppressed with greater cold: onely some of the more noble Weomen, disliking this remedy, choose rather to weare breeches, to defend them from the cold. [III. ii. 95.]

In this distemper of Aire, it cannot be expected that there should be plenty of flowers and summer fruites. No doubt, in regard of the fatnesse of the soile, watered with frequent ditches, and through the foresaid heat of the Summer, they might have plenty of flowers and fruits, were it not impossible or very difficult to preserve them from perishing by the winters cold, and were not the Inhabitants carelesse of such dainties, though in later times, as they have admitted forraigne manners, so luxury hath more power with them, then formerly it had. I have oft seene one Apple sold for a blancke, and those

*The fertility  
of the united  
Provinces.*

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great Cherries which are brought into England, grow not here, but in Flaunders, and the Territories within Land. They have abundance of Butter, Cheese, and Rootes, and howsoever they have not of their owne full sufficiency of other things to maintaine life, yet they abound with the same brought from other parts. Some provinces, (as the Bishoprick of Utrecht) yeeld corne to be transported, but in generall the united Provinces (of which only I discourse in this place) have not sufficient corne for their owne use, yet by traffick at Dantzke, they furnish themselves & many other nations therewith. They have little plenty of River fish, excepting onely Eales, but in the Mosa, as it fals from Dort to the sea, they have plenty of Salmons, and other fish, which fishing did of old yeeld great profit to the Prince and Merchants. And for Sea fishes salted and dried, they make great trafficke therewith. My selfe lying for a passage in the Iland Fly, did see great quantity of shell-fish sold at a very low rate. Great heardes of Oxen and Calves, are yeerely brought into these parts out of the Dukedome of Holst, united to the Kingdome of Denmarke, (in which parts they feed most on dry and salt meates), and these Heardes are fatted in the rich pastures of Gelderland and Freesland. There is great abundance of Sea Fowles, (especially in West-Freesland) and they want not land Fowles. They carefully nourish Storkes, as presaging happinesse to an Aristocraticall government, making them nests on the tops of publike houses, and punishing any that drive them away, or trouble them. In which kind also they preserve Hernes making nests in those groves, which are onely in few Cities. They have a race of heavy Horses, and strong, which they sell in forraigne parts, using onely their Mares to draw Waggones, and for like uses at home. The Provinces on the Sea Coast (as I formerly said) burne their owne earth, by the frequent digging whereof, they say the Sea or lake at Harlem was first made. And of these turffes they make fiers, both cleere and of good smell, without smoke, and com-

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modious to dresse meat, to starch linnen, and like uses.

They are notable Marriners, yet in that to be blamed, that being at Sea, they use no publike prayers, that ever I heard: And severall Cities have great numbers of ships, wherein they trade with such Industry and subtilty, as they are in that point envied of all Nations. *The traffike.*

The very Italians, who in foreseeing wisdom, would bee accounted Promethei, were by them made Epimethei, wise after the deed, too late repenting, that when they came first to settle their trade in Flaunders, they tooke young youths of that Nation to bee their Cassiers, who by writing letters for them, learned the secrets of that trade, and after, to the Italians great prejudice, exercised it themselves. Some three Flemmings, brethren or partners, use to settle themselves in as many Cities of great trade, where they keepe such correspondency, as by buying all things at the well head, where they are cheapest, and transporting them farre off, where they are dearest, and especially by living sparingly, both in dyet and apparrell, and not shaming to retaile any commodity in small parts (which great Merchants disdain to sell, otherwise then by whole sale), they have attained the highest knowledge and riches of trading. Thus they buy rawe silke of the Turkes, and weave the same into divers stoffes in Italy, which they sell not there, but transport them into England, and the Northerne parts, where they beare highest price, and there retaile them by the smallest proportions. They have of their owne, very fine Linnen, and Woollen cloathes, of divers kindes, and many clothes of Cotton, Arras hangings, plenty of Hops (aswell on the Sea-coast of Brabant, as in the East part of Holland) and great store of Butter, Cheese, and Fish salted and dryed, all which they transport. Againe they bring from Dantzke store of Hemp, whereof themselves make Ropes and Cables, neither transport they any rude matter, but by working it at home, enrich many populous Cities. Also from Dantzke they bring corne, all kindes of pitch,

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and other commodities of that place, and from Italy many kindes of silke stufes. Also by the diligent fishing, especially of Herrings, on the Sea-coast of England, they grow rich, selling the same to all Nations, and to the very English, who are not so industrious in that trade. Lastly, they draw the commodities of all Nations to them, and fetch them from the very Indies, and in like sort they transport them to the remotest parts, where they yeeld most gaine.

*Of the olde  
trade of  
Bruges.*

It is not amisse to adde the very words of Marchantius, writing of the olde trade of Bruges in Flanders, since what I have written, is onely to bee understood of the united Provinces. Thus he saith. Lodovicus Crassus in the yeere 1323. granted a staple to Bruges, which his sonne Malanus confirmed. The Staple is a priviledge of staying forraine Commodities in the place, except the seller and bringer chuse rather to returne whence they came. Bruges hath a Market place, with a house for the meeting of Merchants at noone and evening, which house was called the Burse, of the houses of the extinct Family Bursa, bearing three purses for their Armes, engraven upon their houses. The Marchants of England, Scotland, France, Castilia, Portugal, Aragon, Navar, Catalania, Biscaia, the Hans Cities of Germanie; (namely Lubeck, Hamberg, Rostoch, Dantzke, Riga, Revel, and divers other Cities,) the Marchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Luca, and Milan (namely fifteene Nations,) had each their Colledge or house here. The Italians brought Chamblets and Grograms, made of Goates hayre, in Galatia a province of the Lesser Asia, they brought Hides, thred of Silke, of Silver, and of Gold, and cloathes made of them, they brought Jewels, Wines of Candia, Allum, Brimstone, Oyle, Spices, Apothecary Wares, Mithridate, Rhebarb, Mummy, Sena, Cassia, and the soile of Brasse. The French brought Salt, Red and white Wines, Oyle, and Paper. The English brought Wooll, Leade, Tynne, Beere, Woollen cloathes, especially those to make vailes for the Low countrey women. The Scots brought skinnies

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of sheepe Conneys and other, and course woollen cloathes. The Spaniards and Portugals, brought graine for Scarlet Dye, Gold, Silver, raw Silke, thred of Silke, the wood Guaiacum, Salsaparilla, Unicorne Horne, and Spices. The Germans, with the Danes and Polakes, brought Honey, Waxe, Corne, Salt-Peter, Wooll, Glasse, rich Furs, Quick-silver, Armes, Rhenish Wines, Timber for building. Againe, they exported out of Flanders, faire and great Horses, fat Beeves, Butter, divers kindes of Cheese, pickeld and fumed Herrings, divers Sea-fishes salted, Woollen and Linnen clothes, Tapestry of great variety and beauty, rare pictures, and all manuary workes. Thus Flanders gave the name to all Netherland. Bruges in the yeere 1414. got a priviledge, that they who were free of that Citie, by Birth, Gift, Buying or Marriage, should be free from all confiscation of their goods, which exceedeth the priviledges of any other Citie in Netherland, for those of Ypre having the like, yet loose it upon any Force offered to the Prince. The trade at Bruges beganne to decay in the yeere 1485, partly for the narrownesse and unsafety of the Port of Sluce and the River leading from thence to Bruges, partly by the Fame of the large and commodious River Scaldis at Antwerp, and partly by the civill Warres. For first the Portugals having taken Callicut in the East Indies, carried their famous Spices to the Fayre of Antwerp in the yeere 1503. and contracting with that Citie, drew the Fuggari and Welfari German Merchants thither. And after the Merchants of Florence Lucca, and the Spinolæ of Genoa, and those of other Nations (excepting part of the Spaniards) leaving Bruges, seated themselves at Antwerp about the yeere 1516. And they were invited thither by the priviledge of Marriage Dowries, which became shadowes to many frauds. For when Husbands either breake in life time, or be found banckerouts at death, the Wives are preferred to all debtors in the recovery of their dowry. Notwithstanding Bruges at this day by the third generall taxe of Flaunders yet in use, payes something more then Ghant

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for publike uses. These be the words of Jacobus Marchantius.

*Trade  
increased by  
the waters.*

The foresaid trade of the united Provinces, hath at home much commodity and increase by the Rivers, (as the Rheine bringing downe the commodities of Germany), and by the standing or little moving waters, which are most frequent, and by channels or ditches wrought by hand, and bearing at least little boates for passage to each City and Village: but these waters for the most part ending in standing pooles, by reason they fall into a low ground neere the Sea, the Ayre is unholosome, the waters are neither of good smell nor taste, neither doe they drive Mills, as running waters doe elsewhere, of which kind they have few or none. My selfe in a darke rainy day passing one of these said narrow channels, numbered an hundred little boates at least, which passed by us, (and are hired at a low rate) whereby the great trade and singular industry of the Inhabitants may be conjectured. Adde that besides, the German Sea, lying upon divers of these Provinces, they have many Armes of the Sea, that runne farre within Land. All the Rivers fall from Germany, which in this lower soyle often overflowing, have changed their old beds, and falling into ditches made by hand, doe no more runne with their wonted force, but (as I have said in the description of Holland) doe end (as it were) in lakes. By reason of the foresaid industry of the people inhabiting the united Provinces, the number of their ships, and the commodity of their Seas and waters, howsoever they want of their owne many things for necessity and delight, yet there is no where greater abundance of all things, neither could any Nation indowed with the greatest riches by nature, have so long borne as they have done a civell warre, and intollerable exactions and tributes, much lesse could they by this mischiefe have growne rich, as this people hath done. One thing not used in any other Countrey, is here most common, that while the Husbands snort idly at home, the Weomen especially of Holland, for trafficke sayle to Hamburg, and

## OF THE DIET OF THE NETHERLANDS

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manage most part of the businesse at home, and in neighbour Cities. In the shops they sell all, they take all accompts, and it is no reproch to the men to be never inquired after, about these affaires, who taking money of their wives for daily expences, gladly passe their time in idlenesse.

Touching this peoples diet, Butter is the first and last dish at the Table, whereof they make all sawces, especially for fish, and thereupon by strangers they are merrily called Butter-mouths. They are much delighted with white meats, and the Bawers drinke milke in stead of beere, and as well Men as Weomen, passing in boates from City to City for trade, carry with them cheese, and boxes of butter for their foode, whereupon in like sort strangers call them Butter boxes, and nothing is more ordinary then for Citizens of good accompt and wealth to sit at their dores, (even dwelling in the market place) holding in their hands, and eating a great lumpe of bread and butter with a lunden of cheese. They use to seeth little peeces of flesh in Pipkins, with rootes and gobbets of fat mingled therewith, without any curiosity; and this they often seeth againe, setting it each meale of the weeke on the Table, newly heated, and with some addition of flesh rootes or fat morsels, as they thinke needfull, and this dish is vulgarly called Hutspot. They feed much upon rootes, which the boyes of rich men devoure raw with a morsell of bread, as they runne playing in the streetes. They use most commonly fresh meates, and seldome set any salt meates on the board, except it be at Feasts to provoke drinking. They use no spits to roast meat, but bake them in an earthen pipkin as in an oven, and so likewise seeth them: And these meates being cold, they often heat and serve to the Table, so as I have come into an Inne, and being in the Kitchen, could see nothing ready for supper, yet presently called to supper, have seene a long Table furnished with these often heated meats, which smoaked on the outside, yet were cold on the inside. This people is proverbially said to excell in baked meates,

*Diet.*

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especially in baking of Venison; yet to my knowledge they have no red Deare in these Provinces, neither have they any inclosed Parkes for fallow Deare, nor any Conny-grees. Onely Count Mauritz hath of late had out of England some Buckes and Does of fallow Deare, which runne in the grove at the Hage, and there be some Connies neere Leyden upon the sandy banke of the Sea, which are not sufficient to serve the Inhabitants of those parts, but are accounted good and pleasant to eat. Neither in forraigne parts doe they much desire to feed on Connies, either because they are rare, or because the flesh is not savoury. They use to eate early in the morning, even before day, and the cloth is laid foure times in the day for very servants, but two of these times they set before them nothing but cheese and butter. They seeth all their meate in water falling of raine, and kept in Cesternes. They eate Mushromes and the hinder parts of frogges for great dainties, which frogges young men use to catch and present them to their Mistresses for dainties. I have seene a hundreth of Oysters in divers Cities sold sometimes for eight or twelve, yea for twenty or thirty stivers. They dresse fresh water fish with butter more then enough, and salted fishes savourly with butter & mustard: where they eate not at an Ordinary, but upon reckoning (as they doe in Villages and poorer Innes), there they weigh the cheese when it is set on Table, and taken away, being paid by the waight; and I have knowne some waggish Souldiers, who put a leaden bullet into the Cheese, making it thereby weigh little lesse then at first sitting downe, and so deceiving their Hosts: But in the chiefe Innes, a man shall eate at an Ordinary, and there Gentlemen and others of inferiour condition sit at the same Table, and at the same rate.

*The Innes.*

The Innes are commodious enough, and the Cities being frequent scarce some eight miles distant one from the other, commodities of lodging are as frequent, yea, they hang out signes at the doore, (which fashion is not

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in use in many Cities of Germany, in Denmarke, Poland, Scotland, and Ireland, where the Innes are onely knowne by fame); and this made me marvell, that notwithstanding this signe obliging them to lodge strangers, my selfe though well apparelled, have divers times beene refused lodging in many of those Innes, which seemed to me a scorne and flat injury. At the faire City of Leyden not wanting many faire Innes, I was refused lodging in sixe of them, and hardly got it in the seventh, which made me gather that they did not willingly entertaine Englishmen: neither did I attribute this to their inhospitable nature, but to the licentiousnesse of our Souldiers, who perhaps had deserved ill of them thereby, or perhaps by ill payment, for which I cannot blame the English in that case, but rather the unequall Law of England, giving all to the elder brothers, lying sluggishly at home, and thrusting the younger brothers into the warres and all desperate hazards, and that in penury, which forcibly driveth the most ingenious dispositions to doe unfit things. By reason of the huge impositions (especially upon wines,) the passengers expence is much increased, for the exactions often equall or passe the value of the things for which they are paid. And though a man drinke beere, subject to lesse imposition and lesse deere then wine, yet he must understand that his companions drinke largely, and be he never so sober in diet, yet his purse must pay a share for their intemperance. After supper passengers use to sit by the fier, and passe some time in mirth, drinking upon the common charge, and to warme their beere till it have a froth: yet doe they not use these night drinkings so frequently nor with such excesse, as the Germans doe.

*Huge  
Impositions.*

I remember that having beene at Sea in a great storme of wind, thunder, and lightning, about the moneth of November, when such stormes are rare, and being very wearie and sad, I landed at Dockam in West-Freesland, where at that time some yong Gentlewomen of that Countrey, passing through that City towards Groning,



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*English Beere  
greatly  
esteemed.*

according to the fashion of those parts, we did eate at an ordinary Table, and after supper sat downe by the fier, drinking one to the other; where after our storme at Sea, the custome of Freesland did somewhat recreate us: For if a woman drinke to a man, the custome is that shee must bring him the Cup and kisse him, he not moving his feete nor scarcely his head to meete her, and men drinking to them are tied to the like by custome. A stranger would at first sight marvell at this custome, and more specially that their very husbands should take it for a disgrace, and be apt to quarrell with a man for omitting this ceremony towards their wives, yet they interpret this omission as if they judged their wives to be so foule or infamous, or at least base, as they thought them unworthy of that courtesie. In the first Book of this third Part, and in the Journall of the first Part, I have particularly set downe the rates of expences for passengers through those parts. They greatly esteeme English Beere, either for the dearenesse of wine, or indeed the goodnes thereof; and I have observed some in their cups thus to magnifie it, English Beere, English verstant, English beere makes an English wit. So in the Sea townes of England they sing this English rime; Shoulder of mutton and English Beere, make the Flemmings tarry here. They say that there be 300 brewers at Delph, and there they imitate the English Beere, and call that kind Delphs English. But with no cost could they ever make as good as the English is, though they provided to have English Brewers, either by reason of the difference of the waters, or rather (as by experience I have found), because our Beere carried over Sea (whereby it workes a new, and gets a better savour) doth drinke much better then that we have at home. They say, that of old there were more then 700 brewers at Torgaw, till upon the water diverted or corrupted, they forsooke that place. It is not lawful to sel Rhenish wine and French white wine in the same taverne, lest they should be mixed: but one man may sell French red wine and Rhenish wine,



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which cannot well be mixed, without being easily perceived. And for the same cause they may not sel in one place divers kinds of the same country wine, and of the same colour. The Netherlanders use lesse excesse in drinking then the Saxons, and more then other Germans. And if you aske a woman for her husband, she takes it for an honest excuse, to say he is drunken and sleepes. But I will truly say, that for every day drinking, though it bee farre from sobernesse, yet it is not with so great excesse as the Saxons use, neither in taverns (where they, and specially the common sort most meet) and in private feasts at home, doe they use so great excesse as the Saxons. Neither doe drunken men reele in the streets of Netherland so frequently, as they do in those of Saxony. Only I did once see, not without astonishment, a man of honorable condition, as it seemed by his apparrell, of Velvet, and many rings on his fingers, who lay groveling on the ground, close by the carte rutt of the high-way, with two servants distending his cloake betweene the Sun and him, and when wee lighted from our waggon, to behold more neerely this spectacle, thinking the man to be killed or sore wounded, his servants made signes unto us, that wee would not trouble him, who was onely drunken, and would be well assoone as he had slept a little. At this we much wondred, and went on our journey. At feasts they have a fashion to put a Capons rump in the saltseller, & to contend who shall deserve it, by drinking most for it. The best sort at feasts for a frolike will change hats, whereby it happens that Gallants shal weare a Burgers cap, and a Burger an hat with a feather, crying, Tous folz a mode de Liege, All fooles after the fashion of Liege. Some wanting companions to drinke, lay down their hat or cloke for a companion, so playing themselves both parts, of drinking to, & pledging, till they have no more sence or use of reason, then the cloke or hat hath. Lastly, all bargaines, contracts, & solemnities whatsoever, are done in their cups.

The longitude of Denmark and Norway, extends 8 *Denmarke*.

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degrees and a half, from the Meridian of 27 degrees and a halfe, to that of 36 degrees. And the latitude extends 10 degrees, from the paralell of 58 degrees, to that of 68 degrees. The Kingdome of Denmark is divided into sixe parts, Finmark, Norway, Gothia, Scandia, Seland and Jutland.

1 Finmark reacheth towards the North, beyond the Artick circle, to the Castle Warthouse, and therefore must needs be desart and barren.

*Norway.*

2 Norway in the Germans tongue signifies the way to the North, and it is so large, as of old it had and still retaineth the name of a Kingdome, and towards Finmark it reacheth to the Artick circle. The Cities are named, Anstou not farre from the narrow Sea, called Der Soundt, and Nidrosia, formerly called Trondia, lying upon the same sea, and Bergis the seate of a Bishop, and Salzburg a Citie of traffick. In Norway they catch great store of Stockfish, which they beate with cudgels, and dry with cold, and great store of a fish, from the Greeke word called Plaise, for the bredth thereof, and they sell great quantity of this fish to the German Cities upon the sea, which they keep to feede the people, in case the cities should be besieged.

[III. ii. 100.]

3 The Iland Gothia is annexed to the Crowne of Denmark, yet the Succians tooke it in our time, but the Danes recovered it againe. Histories report, that the Gothes came out of this Iland, yet old Writers under the name of Scandia containe all the tract of the neck of Land, lying from the Hiberborean Sea, betweene the Northerne Ocean, and the Bodick Gulfe; from whence it is more probable, that the Gothes came out, then onely from this little Iland, who after seated themselves upon the Euxine sea, and the banke of Danow, and from thence made incursions upon the Roman Empire. And here-upon the said tract, containing not onely Scandia and Gothia, but all Norway and Succia, was by old Writers called the shop and sheath of Nations. The Iland Gothia yeelds the rich Furres called Sabels.

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4 The Iland Scandia is also called Scondia, and Scandinauia, and Schonlandia, that is, faire land, the beauty whereof the Danes highly extoll, and for the firtiltie preferre it to Sealand, though it passe the same in the buildings of the Kings Court and other houses. The Cities thereof are Helsenburg, Lanscron, and London the Metropolitan Citie.

5 The Iland of Seland, (whence they hold the Zelanders of Netherland to have come into those parts), is beautified with the City Copenhagen (that is, the Haven of Merchants) where the King hath his Court, and there is an University. It hath also the strong Castell Cronemburg, built in the Village Elsenar, and the City Roschild, so called of a Fountaine, being the seate of a bishop, where the Kings are buried. Betweene the Castle Cronemburg in Seland, and the Castle Helsenburg in Scandia, is the famous straight of the Sea, called Der Soundt, by which the ships enter into the Baltick Sea, and returning from Dantzke and Righa, laded with precious commodities, pay great tributes to the King of Denmarke, both at the entrie and going fourth of that Straight.

*The Iland of  
Seland.*

6 Jutland signifying a good land in the German language, is the Northerne part of the Cimbrian Chersonesus (that is, necke of land) whence the Cimbri came, who made war upon the Romans. And this Jutland with the foresaid Seland, are properly called Denmarke, the other parts being peculiar Regions, at divers times annexed to that Crowne. The chiefe Townes of Jutland, are Aleburg, Nicopia and Wiburg. The rest of the tract of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, contains the Dukedome of Holst, vulgarly called Holstein, which of old was part of Saxony, but so, as the Danes often forced it to the paying of tribute, and at last about the yeere 1465 they fully subdued it. Part of this Dukedome lying upon the Brittan Sea, betweene the Brooke Idera and the River Elve, is called Ditmarcia, all fenny, so as by casting downe certaine bankes, they may drowne al the Countrie, and by this strength, the inhabitants keeping their enemies

*Jutland.*

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out, long preserved a rude or rurall liberty, but at last in our time, Frederike King of Denmarke, upon advantage of a great frost in those Fennes, suddenly assailed and subdued them, joyning that Country to the said Dukedome of Holst. Of which Dukedome the chiefe Townes are Flensburg, Slesvick (where of old the Dukes held their Court) being seated on the Sea towards the East, and Gottorp, and Meldorp in Ditmarcia upon the Sea towards the West. Upon the confines of Holst lye the faire Imperiall free Cities Lubeck and Hamburg, to the freedome whereof the Dukes of Holst were great and neere enemies, challenging the same to bee built in their soyle, for which cause the Kings of Denmark possessing that Dukedome, are much suspected by these Cities, whom they more and more feare, as their power more increaseth. Some reckon the Ilands Orcades for part of Denmarke, and they say, that the inhabitants speake the Gothes language: but Histories witnesse, that howsoever of old they belonged to the Danes, yet they have long been subject to the Kingdome of Scotland.

*The situation.* Denmarke lying neere the Artick circle, must needs be subject to great cold, howsoever the mistie aire, caused by the frequent Iles, doth in some sort mitigate the extremity thereof.

*The Fertility.* In regard of the clime, it cannot be expected, that fruites should grow here, which are onely ripened by the heate of the Sunne. They have corne sufficient for their

[III. ii. 101.] own use, and plenty thereof (as of all other commodities) is brought to them from Dantzke and all other parts, by reason of the frequent concourse of Merchants into the Soundt, which they enjoy at good rates, and with much ease.

*The trafficke.* The Danes exchange great plenty of dried and salted fishes, and of other smal commodities, for necessities to clothe and feede them; and being in both these kinds frugal and sparing (as the Germans are), they also attaine to some small riches by this poore traffick. And since they feede for the most part on dried fishes, bacon, and



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salt meates, and little use fresh meates as veale and mutton, they carry great heards of oxen and calves out of Holst into Netherland. Lastly, since they have no other commodities of their owne to transport, and Merchants that passe the Baltike Sea, of necessity landing at Elsenar, bring them all necessaries from forraigne parts, and also take of them such commodities as they can spare, surely howsoever the ships of Denmark are in strength sayling and lasting next to the English, yet their Merchants seldome make any other voyages then towards the Northerne Iles to take fish. In diet they are much like the Germans, and especially the neighbouring Saxons. Their dainties are bacon and salt meats, but the common people feeds much on divers kinds of dried fishes, which at the first view of them a stranger may wel perceive, by their leane and withered faces, and they likewise feede on bread very black, heavy and windy. I did see no common Innes at Copenhagen, Elsenar, or Roschilde, but some are there licensed to keepe Taverns for selling of wine, where the common table for that purpose is alwaies ready covered with linnen. But passengers must obtaine diet and lodging with some Citizen, and in their houses they shal find honest manners, moderate diet, and cleane beds and sheets. To conclude, the Danes passe (if it be possible) their neighbour Saxons in the excesse of their drinking.

*The diet.*

Poland hath the name of Fole in that language signifying a plaine, and is a vast kingdome. The longitude thereof extends 16 degrees from the Meridian of 38 degrees, to that of 54 degrees, and the latitude extends 9 degrees from the paralel of 47 degrees to that of 56 degrees. It is divided into the greater and the lesse.

*Poland.*

1 Of the greater Poland these are the chiefe townes Bosnau seated on the Brooke Barta, and Genesua, and Ladislauia seated upon the River Vistula or Wexel.

2 The lesser Poland lies towards the South, wherein is Cracouia (vulgarly Crakaw) the seat of the Kings. The



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inhabitants come of the Scithians, and the manners of the common people at this day little differ from the old Sarmatians. This Region is fenny, and great part thereof is woody, but it so aboundeth with corne and pastures, as it supplies all Europe with corne, and the neighbour Countries with heards of Cattell. It hath no vines, but it yeelds plenty of pit coale, and much wax and hony, and it no lesse aboundeth with many kinds of the said cattell, aswell wilde as tame.

Other Provinces are annexed to this Kingdom, namely, Samogitia, Massovia, Lithuania, Volhinia, Russia, and Podolia, for I omit Borussia, though subject to this Kingdom under a free yoke, because I formerly said, that it is numbred among the Provinces of Germany, the inhabitants being Germans in language and manners, and because I have in that place formerly described the same.

3 Samogitia hath no walled Towne, but the people live in Cottages, and being rude and of great stature, only apply themselves to the plough, and feeding of cattle, not knowing any use of mony, scarce the service of God.

4 The Metropolitan City of Massovia is Warsovia (vulgarly Warsaw), where the Parlements of the Kingdom are held.

5 Lithuania gives the title of Great Duke, and is a most large Province, fenny and woody, so as in Summer there is no passage into it, but in winter when the Fenns are frozen, Merchants trade with the inhabitants. Vilna is the Metropolitan city, and seate of the Bishop. It hath very few Townes, and the Villages are commonly distant 20 German miles one from the other. They have plenty of hony, wax, a kind of beast like an oxe called Alce, wilde beasts and rich furies, but they scarce know the use of mony.

6 Volhinia is the most fertile province of that Kingdom, and fullest of faire townes and Castles.

[III. ii. 102.]

7 Russia or Reutenia hath many Townes, whereof the most knowne is Leopoldis (vulgarly Leimpurg) and it is

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famous for swift and good horses, not to speake of the rich furies and other commodities.

8 Lastly, Podolia aboundeth with excellent Pastures, but hath few Cities or Townes.

In general, Poland is subject to as great cold, as the *The situation.* lower part of Germany, lying under the same Paralell, and the Countries, as they lie more Northerly, so they suffer more cold; for the coast of the Baltike Sea, the more it lyes towards the East, the more it still bends to the North, besides that, the plainenes of the Countrie, and the frequency of Lakes and Fennes, doe more increase the cold. They use stoves heated with earthen ovens, for remedy against cold, as the Germans doe.

The revenews of the King and Gentlemen are moderate, *The fertility.* scarce sufficient to maintaine a plentiful table, and to exchange with Merchants for Wines and Spices (which they much use, especially in dressing of fish) and for forraigne Stuffles and Clothes of Silke and Wooll. Poland aboundeth with beasts, aswell wild as tame, and yeeldeth excellent horses, not great, but quicke and stirring. Neither doe the Gentlemen more delight in any thing, then in their horses, so as they hang gold chaines and Jewels at their eares, and paint them halfe over with exquisite colours, but in that uncomely, that they are not naturall for horses, as the Carnatian colour, and their hinder parts they adorne with rich Furies and skinnes of Lions and Leopards and the like, aswell to terrifie their enemies, as to adorne and beautifie their horses. Poland likewise aboundeth with Flesh, Whittmeate, Birds, fresh-water Fish (it being farre within land), and al kind of Pulse, as Pease and the like. It hath some, but very few mines of Gold and Silver towards the Carpatian Mountaines of Hungary, and of Iron and Brimstone. It abounds with Hony, which they find in hollow trees and caves of the earth, besides the Husbandmans hives. It yeelds great quantity of Wax, Flax, Linnen clothes made thereof, Hempe, Pich of both kinds, Masts for shippes, Boards and Timber, rich Furies, Salt digged out

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of pits, Amber, Soape-ashes, and all kinde of Graine, especially Rye, which hath made Daniske famous, for relieving all Nations therewith in time of dearth.

*The traffick.*

No marvell then if Merchants bring unto them Silkes of Italy, Cloth of England, Wine of Spaine, and the very Spices of India, with most remote commodities, since they not onely sell them at what price they list, but also bring from thence such precious foresaid commodities. Poland is all farre within land, excepting Borussia (vulgarly Prussen), which with immunities is subject to this Kingdome, though I have described it among the Provinces of Germany, because the people are Germans in language and manners. And the very inhabitants of Borussia have but few ships, using strangers to export their commodities. Poland aboundeth with the foresaid most necessary commodities, and the people live content with their owne; yet are they not rich, because they want the foresaid forraigne commodities farre brought, and so deare. And they have so little Gold and Silver, as despising all in respect of it, they sell all commodities at a most low rate, especially those which are for daily fooode, and unfit to be exported.

*The dyet.*

And in truth, my selfe having in Poland and Ireland, found a strange cheapenesse of all such necessities, in respect they want, and so more esteeme Silver, this observation makes me of an opinion much contrary to the vulgar, that there is no more certaine signe of a flourishing and rich commonwealth, then the deare price of these things (excepting the yeeres of famine), nor any greater argument of a poore and weake State, then the cheape price of them, and it makes me confident to conclude, that old wives snared with papisticall superstition, doe foolishly attribute the late deare prices to the change of Religion in our time, while they ignorantly extoll former times, wherein twenty foure Eggs were sold for a penny: for in our Age, our Kings have more royall Tributes, our Nobles farre greater revenews, our Merchants much greater wealth, then ever our progenitors had, and this

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is the cause that all things for diet and apparrell, and our very wanton desires, are sold at much higher prices then in former ages, because our riches make us not able to want any thing to serve our appetite, at what price soever it is set. Againe for Italy, it hath no great store of flesh, birds, fish, and like things for food, in regard of the populousnesse thereof, yet the Inhabitants holding it no disgrace to be sparing in diet, and modest in apparell (so it be clenly), in regard of this generall temperance, and that the Nobility disdaineth not to weave silkes, and trade for them, being the sinew of that Countrey, howsoever all things are sold there at most deare prices, yet no Princes (considering things to be considered) no Gentlemen, no Merchants of the universall World, have greater treasures and wealth, then those of Italy. I have said that Poland doth abound with all kinds of flesh, whitmeates, fresh water fish, and all things necessary for foode, and that it yeelds no Wine, which the Inhabitants seldome drinke, but in place thereof they use Beere, which they of Dantzke brew very strong and good, and they make a drinke of Hony, which they esteeme almost as much as wine, and the best composition thereof is made in the Province of Massovia. They have such store of Butter, as I have seene them anoint Cart wheelles therewith, but it is more white and lesse savoury then ours. This Kingdome hath few Cities; and if a stranger will for a time sojourne in any of them, he shall easily find a German or Netherlander to be his Host, who will entertaine him more commodiously then any of that Nation, though perhaps at extraordinary rates, as my selfe found, abiding with a Netherlander at Crakaw.

[III. ii. 103.]

The Innes in the chiefe Cities, affoord convenient beds, and plenty of flesh and fresh water fish. And these fish they dresse with pepper and spice more then enough, for which kinde of Cookery, the Polonians are praised above the Germans or any other Nation, yet the spice being farre brought and deerely sold, makes the sawce farre more costly, then the fish it selfe. There is scarce

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*Victuals at a  
low rate.*

any Gentleman who hath not the skill, and doth not use to dresse fish for his owne eating. In Villages and small Cities, by the high way a passenger shall find no bed, but he may carry a bed in his Coach, and sit upon it conveniently. Others use to sleepe upon straw, lapped with a furred horsemans coate, which they use to weare, and if they have no such coate, they must be content to sleepe upon cleane straw: And all the passengers lie together in the warme stoave, with those of the Family, both Men and Weomen. Neither shall they find in such places any Wine or choice meates, which they use to bring from Cities in their Coaches. For the Innes in such places are poore naked houses, having nothing to sell, but close by them are the shambles, the Bakers & Brewers houses, where the passengers buy beere & such meat as they like, and bring it to the Inne, which a poore Hostesse will dresse, affoording them onely fier, and a course Tablecloth. And it seemed to me, that the Lord of the place useth to impose upon some vassall this charge to entertaine strangers: for the Hostesse will give her labour for nothing, except in curtesie you desire her to eate with you, and if you freely give her a small reward, as three pence for the whole Company, shee will thinke you deale bountifully with her, but shee will aske you nothing. Also you may freelie carrie away in your Coach, flesh, bread, wine, or anie thing that remaines, which I have seene done many times. No Countrey in Europe affoordes victuals at a lower rate. My selfe and a Companion, did in a Countrey Towne invite two Guests, and our dinner for foure persons came but to foure Grosh and a halfe. I have formerly set downe the ordinary expences generally, in a Chapter treating of that Subject in the first Booke of this thirde Part, and particularlie, in the journey through Poland in the first Part. Now I will onelic adde, that in the Villages and little Cities by the high way, I have bought tenne Egges for one Grosh, a Goose for three, a Partridge for two, a loine of Mutton for two, a Pigge for three Grosh, and all like



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things at a very small price. So as if a passenger have a Cooke in his companie, or have himselfe any skill to dresse meate for his owne appetite, I thinke hee shall there want nothing for necessary or delicate foode. But hee may not expect, that a Countrey Hostesse should seeke out, or curiously dresse any dainties for him.

Lastly, the Polonians are as stout drinkers as the Germans, and passe them all, excepting onely the Saxons, yea above all that ever I observed given to this vice, they seemed to me to be mad in this kind, that in drinking they are prone to quarrels, brawling and fighting. Give me leave to adde one observation, which to me seemed very strange. At Malvin and Dantzke in Prussen, betweene Michaelmas and Christmas, the Country people bring in sledges laded with dead Hares, all frozen over, which are so preserved aswell and better, then if they were powdred with Salt, till our Lady day in Lent, about which time the frost begins first to breake. And if they will eate a Hare in the meane time, they thaw it at the fier, or the oven of the warme stove, or by casting it into water, and so they presently set it to the fier, either to be rosted or boyled. In like sort they preserve Phesants, or any kind of flesh, being frozen over, aswell as if they were salted. And if any man thinke this a Travellers fiction, let him know, that a most credible person told mee, of his certaine knowledge and experience, that the Moscovites in Russia, bring the dead bodies of men in winter thus frozen over, and so lay them on heapes in the Bellfrees of the Churches, where they lie without rotting, or ill smell, till about our Lady day in Lent the Snow begins to thaw, and the earth to be fit for digging (for till that time the earth is covered with deepe and hard snow, and if it were not so covered, yet is so hard by continuall frosts, as it cannot bee digged.) And at that time each family takes the bodies of their dead, and takes care to burie them.

[III. ii. 104.]  
*The drinking*

[Chap. V.]

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### Chap. V.

Of Italy touching all the subjects of the third Chapter going before.

*Italy.*



He Longitude of Italy extends fourteene degrees and a halfe from the Meridian of twenty seven degrees and a halfe, to that of forty two degrees. And the Latitude extends eight degrees from the paralell of thirty eight degrees to that of forty six degrees. Italy of old was called Saturnia, Janicula, Ocnotria, and Ausonia, and lastly it had the name of Italy. It was called Saturnia of Saturne, who banished from his Country, taught the Inhabitants of this Country the Art of Husbandry, as Poets fable, and is accounted the first King of this people, then called Aborigines, as borne there, not comming from any forraigne part to inhabite there. It was called Janicula of Janus or Noha, whom they affirme to have come thither after the deluge, and to have taught them the art to plant vines and sow corne, & to have built the Citie Janua, now called Genoa. It was called Oenotria, either of the excellent wines, or of Oenotrius King of the Sabines, as likewise it had the name Ausonia of Ausonius, the son of Ulisses. Lastly, it was called Italy of Italus King of Sicilie, or of an old Greeke word signifying oxen, and shewing the inhabitants to have been Heardsmen. Ptolomy describes it in the forme of a Chersonesus (that is, necke of land) or Peninsula (that is, almost an Iland), and Pliny in the forme of an Oaken leafe, but others more aptly compare it to a mans leg, from the thigh to the sole of the foote.

Old Writers dividing Italy from Gallia Cisalpina, or togata, inclose Gallia with a line drawne from the River Varus beyond Genoa, by the Apenine Mountaine to the Brooke Rubico, where it falles into the Sea neere Ravenna, and this line is obliquely stretched from the East to the

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West, and so they divide it from Italy, and make Piemount, the Dukedome of Milan, the Dukedome of Ferrara, the Trevisau Marquisate, and all Histria, to be a peculiar part of Europe. But these Provinces being at this time part of Italy, it is better inclosed and confined by a line drawne from the head of the Brooke Varus, through the Coccian Alpes to the Mountaine Adula, (which lies upon the Alpes of Furca or Mount Gothard) and so through the Rhetian Alpes towards the East, to the Brooke Arsia, (confining Histria); and the rest of Italy is compassed with the Sea. Also the Mount Appenine derived from the Alpes, runnes all the length of Italy, in the forme of a fishes backe bone, and almost in the midst devides it into two tracts, one lying towards the upper or Adriaticke Sea, the other towards the nether or Tyrrhene Sea. For howsoever the Appennine about Ancona, seemes to bend towards the Adriaticke Sea, and there to end; yet after it turnes from thence, and devides the rest of Italy, till it ends upon the straight of the Sicilian Sea. Italy worthily called the Queene of Nations, can never be sufficiently praised, being most happy in the sweete Ayre, the most fruitfull and pleasant fields, warme sunny hils, hurtlesse thickets, shaddowing groves, Havens of the Sea, watering brookes, baths, wine, and oyle for delight, and most safe forts or defences as well of the Sea as of the Alpes. Neither is any part of Europe more inhabited, more adorned with Cities and Castles, or to be compared thereunto for tillage and husbandry.

[III. ii. 105.]

The Provinces thereof are numbred 14. First beyond the Appenine towards the Tyrrhene Sea, lie five Provinces, Liguria, Tuscia, Campania, (subdevided into Umbria, Latium, and Campania, the happy): Lucania (vulgarly Basilicata), and Calabria, (the upper and the lower). Also on this side the Appenine towards the Adriaticke Sea, lie five Provinces, (going backe from the East to the West), Salentinum, Apulia, Samnium, (vulgarly Abrotzo), Picænum, (vulgarly Marca Anconitana) and Flaminia, (vulgarly Romandiola), whereof part beyond the brooke

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Rubico, reacheth into Gallia Cisalpina. Againe in the part called of old Gallia Cisalpina, are foure Provinces, Lombardia, Marca, Trevisana, Forum Julii, and Histria.

*Liguria.* 1 The chiefe City in Liguria, is Genoa, a free City, (or at least having the shew of liberty), to which all this Province is subject, which lieth all upon the Tyrrhene Sea, and is now vulgarly called La Riviera di Genoa, being of all Italy the most rocky and barren tract: yet whether by Husbandmens art and labour, or by lying upon the South Sun, I know not; but sure I am, and well remember, that passing that way in the beginning of Winter, I tooke great pleasure in the plenty and goodnesse of the fruites thereof: Besides that, all Men extoll the fertility of Mount Ferrate, (a part of Liguria, inclosed and watered by the Rivers Tanoro and Po.)

*Tuscia.* 2 Tuscia had the name of Franckensence, which they used for Incense, and was formerly called Hetruria, at this day named Toscana. It was an old Dukedome erected by the Longobards, and after was devided into many territories of free Cities and Commonwealths, the liberty whereof (namely of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna) the Family of Medici, invaded in the time of the Emperour Charles the fifth, and now possesseth all Toscaney with title of great Duke, onely the City of Lucca still preserving the old liberty of that Commonwealth. It hath very many Cities, of which these are the chiefe; Florence, Pisa, (an University), Sienna, and Lucca, (which still is a free City).

*Campania.* 3 Campania (vulgarly Campagna) is subdevided (as I said) into Latium, Umbria, and Campania the happy. Latium hath the name of the Fable of Saturne, lurking there in banishment, and it is the Fountaine of the famous Latin tongue, and the head City thereof is Rome, which City together with the whole Province, is at this day subject to the Pope, & the Province is vulgarly called Campagna di Roma. The second part is Umbria, which was held part of Latium, & lieth beyond Rome, amidst the Mount Apenine of whose shaddow it had the name



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of Umbria, but is now called the Dukedome of Spaleto, to which dignity it was raised of old by the Lombards, and it is subject to the Pope of Rome. The Cities thereof are Volgineum, Assisium, Spoletum, Perusium, and Otricoli. The third part is Campania the happy, vulgarly called Terra di Lavourr, having the name of the most fertile Plaine of Capua, seated upon the banke of the River Volturnus; and to that Citie it was of old subject, but at this day it is the chiefe Province of the Neapolitan Kingdome, the head Citie whereof is Naples, of old called Parthenope, and Dystarchia, now adorned with stately Pallaces, of Dukes, Earles, and Gentlemen, especially those of the Duke of Gravina, and the Prince of Salerno, these Noble men dwelling there the greatest part of the yeere. The Capuan delights, corrupting the Army of Hanniball, are knowne to all the World. This Province is an earthly Paradise, where Bacchus and Ceres strive for principalitie. I passe over Cuma, of old a famous Citie, and Linternum, famous for the banishment and Sepulcher of Scipio the Africane, since at this day onely remaine some ruines of Cuma, and scarce any memory of Linternum. Neere Suessa, is the Mountaine Valerius or Falernus, famous for the wine it yeeldeth, and the famous Mountaines Gaurus, Massicus and Vesuvius. The Mountaine Vesuvius is now called Somma, out of the top whereof, of old great flames broke out, burning the neighbour places, in which flames Pliny (living in the time of Trajan) was choaked and perished, while hee curiously searched the cause of those flames. In our age this Mountaine burned, and now daily fire breakes out of it. Here the beautie of all the World is gathered as it were into a bundle. Here be the famous dwellings of the Romans, in the Territorie of Naples. Here are the Acherusian Fennes, the Lake of Avernus, the Ditch of Nero, the Bridge of Caligula, and other wonders celebrated by Poets. The Kingdome of Naples is subject to the King of Spaine, which together with the Dukedome of Milan, also subject to him, is

*The  
Mountaine  
Vesuvius.*

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thought to containe more then halfe Italy, besides the Iland of Sicily, annexed to this Kingdome, whereof this is the chiefe Province, and the bounds of it reach to the Sea, and so lye backward on this side the Apennine towards Samnium, where it is confined, and divided from the Mark of Ancona, by the Brooke Truento.

*Lucania.* 4 Lucania, vulgarly Basilicata, is a small Territory, the Cities whereof are Folia and Laina.

*Calabria.* 5 Calabria a Province of this Kingdome, is divided into the upper and the lower. The upper is called great Græce, being of old inhabited by the Greekes, and using still that language corrupted with the Italian. The Cities thereof famous of old, are Rudia (where Ennius was borne), Croto (where Milo was borne, who carried an Oxe), Tarentum now the chiefe City, and Locris. The lower Calabria is called Brutium, the chiefe City whereof is Reghio, so called, because Sicily is said to have been there divided from Italy by an Earthquake.

*Salentinum.* 6 Salentinum vulgarly Terra di Ottranto hath the Cities Ottranto, and Brundusium.

*Apulia.* 7 Apulia vulgarly Puglia, is divided into Pencetia and Daunia.

In Pencetia or Mesapia, vulgarly called Terra di Barri, are the Cities Basigno and Bitonto. In Daunia, vulgarly called Puglia Piana, are the Cities Mansfredonia, Beneventum (made a Dukedome by the Lumbards), Asculum, and the Village Cannæ, famous by the old defeate of the Romans. And here is the Mountaine Garganus, vulgarly called Sant' Angelo.

*Samnium.* 8 Samnium of old called Aprusium, at this day hath the name of Abrozze, where is Sulmo, in which Ovid was borne, and here the Kingdome of Naples is confined on this side the Apenine Mountaine.

*Picenum.* 9 Picenum, vulgarly Marca Anconitana is subject to the Pope, and hath the name of the chiefe City Ancona, so called of the crookednesse of the Haven, which is held the best Haven of Italy. Persaurum, vulgarly Pesaro, belongs to this Province.

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10 Flaminia or Romandiola, vulgarly Romagna, hath faire Cities, Urbinum, subject to the Duke thereof (which some make part of Picænum), Rimini, Bologna, subject to the Pope, and ancient Ravenna, which with the greatest part of this Province is subject to the Pope, who erected Urbine from a County to a Dukedome, with covenant of vassalage (which the Popes seldome omit) yet some part of the Province is subject to the Venetians.

*Flaminia.*

11 Lombardy of old was part of Gallia Cisalpina, which the River Padus (vulgarly Po, and of old called Eridanus) divides into Cispadan (on this side the Po) and Transpadan (beyond the Po.) Cispadan (of old called Emilia, now vulgarly di qua del' Po) contains Piemont (so called, as seated at the foote of the Mountaines), whereof the chiefe Citie is Turin (of old called Augusta Taurinorum), and this Province is subject to the Duke of Savoy, Also it contains the Territory of Parma, subject to the Duke thereof, wherein are the cities Parma & Piacenza. Transpadane, vulgarly di la del' Po, contains the Dukedom of Milan, the chiefe City whereof is Milano, and it hath other Cities, namely Como, where both Plinies were borne, seated on the most pleasant Lake Larius; vulgarly di Como, abounding with excellent fishes. Also Ticinum vulgarly Pavia, (where the French King Francis the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of Charles the fifth). Lastly, Cremona, among other things famous for the Tower. This Dukedome is the largest and richest of all other, (as Flaunders is among the Counties) and it is subject to the King of Spaine.

*Lombardy.*

[III. ii. 107.]

12 Also Transpadane Lombardy contains the Dukedome of Mantua, (subject to the Duke thereof) and Marca Trevisana, or Trivigiana (subject to the State of Venice). Mantua is the chiefe City of the Dukedome, and Marca Trevisana hath the famous Cities, Venice, Padoa, Tteviijo, Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo. The Tyrrheni of old inhabited all Cisalpina Gallia, who gave the name to the Tyrrhene Sea, and were expelled by the Galles, and of them the Insubres inhabited the

*Transpadane  
Lombardy.*

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Transpadan part, and there built Milano, and the Senones inhabited the Cispadane part.

*Forum Julii.*

13 Histria is devided into Forum Julii, and Histria, properly so called. Forum Julii vulgarly Frioli, and Patria (because the Venetians acknowledge they came from thence), was a Dukedome erected by the Lombards, the chiefe City whereof is the most ancient Aguilegia adorned with the title of a Patriarchate, which at this day is almost fallen to the ground. Neere that City is a Towne, in which they write that S. Marke penned his Gospell: Now the chiefe City is Frioli. The confines of this Region lie upon Marca Trevisana, and all the Province to the River Tagliamonte, is subject to the State of Venice. The other part is subject to the Arch-Dukes of Austria. Here growes the wine Pucinum, now called Prosecho, much celebrated by Pliny.

*Histria.*

14 Histria, properly so called, is almost in the forme of a Peninsule, (almost an Iland) and the chiefe City is Justinopolis, vulgarly Capo d' Istria, and all the Province is subject to the State of Venice.

*The situation.*

Italy in Winter time, (namely the moneths of December, January, and February) hath a temperate cold, with little or no frosts or Ice: And howsoever my selfe did see, not onely the Rivers of the State of Venice, but the very Inland Seas of Venice, frozen and covered with thicke yce, for the space of three weekes, yet the Venetians said it was a rare accident. In Summer the heate is excessive, and the dew falling by night is very unwholsome, as also thunderings and lightnings are frequent, which doe great hurt both to man and beast then abroad, as sad experience often shewes them. But in the Dog-daies no man is so hardy as to put his head out of his dores, or to goe out of the City. For they proverbially say; Quando il Sole alberga in Leone, chi so mantiene sano, guadagna assai: that is, When the Sunne lodgeth in the Signe of the Lion, he that preserves his health, gaines enough. This excesse of heate they carefully avoid, by inhabiting upon the sides of the

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Mountaines and Hilles towards the Sea, which cooleth the windes, and by retiring into vaults under ground, or open Tarrasses lying upon Rivers, and free from the Sunne. Yea, some have found the meanes, by an artificiall Mill, to draw Winde into a vault, and from thence to disperse it into any roome of the house. All Italy is divided with the Mount Apennine, as a back is with the bone, and upon both sides thereof, aswell towards the North as South, the Hilles and Plaines extend towards the Tirrhene and Adriatike Seacs, in so narrow compasses, as many times a man may at once see both the Seas, from the top of the Mountaine, so as the fresh windes blowing from each Sea, doe not a little mitigate the heate of the clime. For the Sea windes blowing from any quarter whatsoever, while they gather cold by long gliding on the water, must needes refresh where they blow, as on the contrary, winds sweeping upon the earth, increase the heate. Thus in the West part of Sicily, when the South East wind blowes, and sweepes upon the plaine, parched by the Sun, it brings excessive heate, yet the same wind, yea the very South wind in his nature most hot, when they sweepe upon the Sea, and after beate upon the Mountaines of Liguria, doe bring a pleasant coolenesse with them.

Touching the fertility of Italy, before I speake of it, give me leave to remember, that Jerome Turler writing of Travell into forraigne parts, relates that a Prince of Naples having a kinseman to his pupill, who desired much to see forraigne Kingdomes, he could not deny him so just a request, but onely wished him first to see Rome, whether he went, and after his returne, the Prince tooke an accompt of him, what he had seene, and finding him sparingly to relate his observations in that place, he made this answere to his request. Cozen you have seene at Rome faire Meadowes, Plaines, Mountaines, Woods, Groves, Fountaines, Rivers, Villages, Castles, Cities, Baths, Amphitheaters, Play-houses, Temples, Pillars, Statuaes, Colosses, triumphall Arkes, Pyramides, Acade-

*The fertility.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

mies, Gardens, Water Conduits, Men good and ill, learned and unlearned, more you cannot see in the universall World, then be content, and stay at home. And so he restrained the young Man in his desire to travell, wherein perhaps he rather sought to get liberty then experience. This I write, to shew that the Italians are so ravished with the beauty of their owne Countrey, as having by sharpenesse of wit more then the true value of things, magnified and propounded to strangers admiration, each Brooke for a River, each vice for the neighbour vertue, and each poore thing, as if it were to be extolled above the Moone, they have thereby more wronged themselves then us. For we passing through Italy, though we find our selves deceived in the fame of things, yet still we heare and see many things worthy to be observed; but of the Italians, holding Italy for a Paradice, very few sharpen their wits with any long voyage, and great part of them have not seene the Villages and Cities within ten miles of their dwellings. Hence it is that great part of the Italians have nothing to boast of, but their naturall wit, while our Nations beyond their Alpes, besides naturall gifts, have wisdom gained by experience. Italy is most populous, so as Gentlemens Palaces & Lands belonging to them, are commonly confined within some few inclosures. The Castles, Cities, Villages, and Pallaces, are most frequent, whence it is, that the Land being narrow, and not well capable of so much people, they plant and sow in the very ditches of the high wayes, in the furrowes of Land, upon the wals and ditches of Cities and Castles, yea, to the very doores of private houses, fitting each least corner, as well to profit as beauty. Onely Lombardy hath large and open fields, with pastures to feed Sheepe and Cowes, and with plenty of whitmeats: For they have delicate Butter, which is not elsewhere to be found, except in the valey of Pisa, (or of the River Arno), all other places using Oyle in stead of it. Neere Parma and Piacenza, it yeelds excellent Cheese, much prized of very Princes in forraigne parts, whether great



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quantity thereof is transported, and greater extracted into other parts of Italy.

Lombardy also affords sheepe to Tuscany, and other parts of Italy, as Sicily doth Corne, whereby of old it deserved to be called the Garner of Rome. Italy hath great store of Goates, the milke whereof is so nutritive, as they give it to the weakest bodies for a restorative. Great Heards of cattle are brought into Italy out of Hungary, and from divers Countries of the Alpes, but the Hungarian Oxen growing leane with driving farre, and finding in Italy no Pastures wherein they may be fatted, this makes Italians basely to esteeme of Beefe. Out of Lombardy the Italians have few or no Catle, all Italy being like a most pleasant Garden, and having few Pastures: And this makes the Italians so tender towards the few Cattle they have, as for feare of cold forsooth in that hot Clime, they leade them into stables, when they are to bring forth their young. In the plaine Countrey of Lombardy they use Horses, and especially Mares, (of an exceeding little race) to ride upon, and for bearing of burthens; and Oxen to draw Carts, and sometimes Caroches, (vulgarly Carozzi): but in the Mountaines and hilly Countries they use Asses and Mules, seldome Horses to ride upon, and for burthens. In the Roman territory I have seene many Beasts called Buffoli, like Oxen, but greater and more deformed, having great hornes with foule nostrels cast up into the Ayre: It is a slow and dull Beast, yet being provoked, hath malice enough, and the backe thereof is commonly bare of haire, and ever almost galled. They eate not the flesh thereof, but trade with the hides, as with those of Oxen, and this beast is held commodious for Husbandry and patient of labour. They have no race of Horses for beauty or service, but onely in the Kingdome of Naples. Asses are commonly sold for 10 crownes a peece, and a Mule for 50 or 60 gold crownes, which Beasts are onely used in all Italy, excepting onely Lombardy. Of the Mule I observed, that he will goe under a heavy

*Cattle.*

*Buffoli.*

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*Mules.*

burthen from day-breake in Summer, to darke night, without any bating or rest by the way, onely his meate is tied in a net before his mouth, so as he eates while he goes, and his pace is slow, and when his burthen is taken off at night, he tumbles and rubs his backe in the dust to coole it, and is thereby more refreshed from wearinesse, then a Horse can be with lying halfe the night, otherwise he lies not downe in the stable scarcely once in sixe moneths. A Mule is begotten betweene a Horse & a shee Asse, but a Mule mounting a she Mule, an Asse, or any beast whatsoever, doth never ingender of them, and the heate of his seed is yeelded for cause thereof. Narrow Italy cannot beare red or fallow Deare, onely the woods of Toscany yeeld some few wild Boares, which are preserved for the great Dukes game, otherwise a few wild beasts might soone make great spoile in so rich and well tilled fields, as be these of Italy.

*Husbandry.*

The hils and mountaines thereof lying upon the South Sunne, are in generall most fertile or fruitfull of all other, such are the fields and hils of the Neapolitane territory, such are the mountaines and hils of Liguria, lying upon the Tyrrhene Sea, such is the territory about the Lake of Gardo, (vulgarly Il lago di Gardo) lying at the feete of the South-side of the Alpes. The fields of Lombardy are lesse happy in yeelding frutes, but give excellent pasture and corne, where the Husbandman makes use of the very furrowes betweene the Akers, for as in the Aker he soweth Corne, so in the furrowes he plants Elme Trees, the loppings whereof serve him to burne, and likewise plants Vines, which shoote up in height upon the bodies of those trees, but these vines yeeld but a small wine, by reason they grow so high, and in a plaine Country. In the upper part of Italy, they plant in one and the same field, Olive and Almond trees, and under them sow Corne, and in the furrowes plant Vines, which shoote up, resting uppon short stakes, and yeeld strong wine of divers sorts, because they grow not high, and the ground being hilly, hath more benefit from the Sunne

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beating upon it. The soyle of Tuscany being hilly and stony, seemed to me at the first sight to be barren, but after I found it not onely to yeeld fruites plentifully, but also good increase of Corne, as of one measure sowed, commonly eight or ten measures, often fourteene, and sometimes twenty five; neither doe they give the ground rest by laying it fallow, as we doe, but each second yeere they sow part of it with Beanes and Pulse, yeelding plentiful increase, and then burying the stubble to rot in the ground, make it thereby fat to beare wheate againe. My selfe observed, that at the foot of the South-side of the Alpes, they gather Wheate and Rie in the moneth of June, and then sow the same fields with lighter kinds of Graine, which they gather in the moneth of October: yet by reason of the multitude of the people, and the narrownesse of the Land, the Italians not onely carry not any grane into forraigne parts, but also the Merchants bringing grane to them, are cherished by the Princes, with faire words and rewards, that they may come againe, more specially by the Duke of Florence, who takes care to provide for his Countrey, not onely grane from Sicily and all other parts, but also sheepe out of Lombardy, which he devides among his Subjects, at what price he list, taking this charge upon him to see that his people want not victuals, as wel for the publike good, as his owne great gaine. Italy yeelds plenty of Oranges, which Tree *Fruits.* is most pleasant to behold, yeelding fruit three times each yeere, and bearing at one time ripe and greene Oranges, and buds. They have like plenty of Citron, Limon, and Cedar trees, which in Lombardy grow upon the bricke wals of Gardens, as Vines doe with us, and are kept in earthen vessels, but upon the mountaines and hils of upper Italy, the fields abound with these Trees, which both in body and fruit are as bigge as our Apple-trees, and they transport great store of these fruites into forraigne parts. There be many woods of Chesnuts, which they little esteeme, onely poore people eating them, and with the rest they feed Hogges, as with Acornes. The Chesnut

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tree is not unlike the Oake tree, but that it is more small, high, and straight. There be some woods of Pine trees, which are high, without any boughs or leaves to the very top, where they have a round tuft, and they beare at one time the fruit of three yeeres, one pine Apple round and sharpe at the top, having some hundreth or more knobs like hasell nuts, in which knob the kernell is of little bignesse, but of such vertue to provoke wantonnesse, as they serve it at all feasts. All the fields are full of figtrees, not small as with us, but as big in the body as some Appel-trees, and they have broad leaves. The fruite hath the forme of a long peare, and a blacke skinne, and a red juyce, being to be sucked like sugar in taste. Neither doe I thinke any fruite to bee more pleasant then this pulled from the tree, I say pulled from the tree, because the drie figges exported, are not in taste comparable thereunto. In the fields of upper Italy are great plenty of Almond trees, so as you would say, that a whole Province is but one Garden. Like plenty have they of Olive trees, which yeeld a sweet oyle, used by them in stead of butter, and in forraigne parts for wholsomnesse, yet I cannot think that it can be wholesome when it is heated, as the Italians use it to fry meates. They have some, but not so great plenty of Pomegranates, which tree is not unlike that of the white Rose, but the leaves are little, and the flowers and the buds of a red colour. The Husbandmen make ditches about the rootes of all these fruite trees, and the inhabitants of pleasant Italy are notable in all kind of Husbandrie. The Cypresse, Pople, and Oake trees, grow in many places, but are little esteemed, as bearing no fruite. Italy upon the Hilles and Mountaines lying towards the Sunne, yeelds rich Wines, and very nourishing, yet some out of experience say, they are not wholsome for fat men, as causing obstructions, and hindring the passage of the urine, and other evacuations: but I am sure they are more pleasant in taste, then any other wine whatsoever brought into England that ever I tasted.



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But of all the kinds of Wine to be named in my following discourse, I have spoken more at large in the first Part, writing my journall through Ytaly.

I have seene Pease, Attichokes, cloved Gilly flowers, and other flowers of the best kinds, sold in the Market-place of Saint Marke in Venice all the moneth of Februarie, but they had not the odoriferous smell of Summer flowers. Also at Genoa in the moneth of December, I did see the same flowers and fruits sold, and many of them for one bolineo, yea the flowers were odoriferous in smell, and newly gathered, which made me thinke, that those I did see at Venice, were preserved by Art, and not newly gathered. And they of Genoa acknowledge, that they learned the art to make flowers grow in Winter, of Cowes by chance nipping of some buds in Summer, which they observed to bud and put forth againe in Winter: for the Gardners upon this observation, did themselves nip of some buds newly put forth in Summer, and forbearing to water that roote all Summer time, did upon approach of Winter digge about the roote, and sow cloves about it, to make the Winter flowers have the better smell, and then covering the roote with earth, began daily to water it, and with this Art sooner or later used, they make the earth yeeld Roses, or any flowers in what moneth of the yeere they will, so that the ground lye upon the South Sunne, and fenced from cold windes.

The Gulfe of Venice affoards fishing to serve that City in good plenty, the Sea of Rome affoards lesse, and that of Genoa none at all. But in the Sea of Genoa neare the Ilands Sardinia and Corsica, they fish Corals, sold at Genoa for three lyres the ownc. In the markets at Venice they have great oysters, but in no great plenty, and divers kinds of shell-fish, as Cockles, Scalops, and Rasers, called in the Italian tongue *Cape tonde*, (round Cape) *Cape Sante* (holy Cape) and *Cape longe* (long Cape), and these they have in more plenty, then in most parts of England: but the Oysters are very deare, some twenty for a lyre; and I doe not remember to have seene shelfish

*The fishing.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

in any other City of Italy, but onely in Venice. Neither have the Italians any store of fresh-water fish, so as most of their Markets are furnished in very Lent-time with salted and dried fishes, or at least newly dead, which the Germans cannot indure, using to see them alive before they will eate them. They have at certaine times of the yeere reasonable plentie of birds, but not great in number or variety of kinds, but Hens, and especially those of Turkey or the Indies seeme more plentifully served in the Markets, because the common sort feedes onely upon rootes, divers kinds of pulse, hearbs, and small meates dried or salted. I remember not to have seene any Storkes in Italy, no not in the free Cities and States, where fabulous Writers say, they most willingly live, as  
[III. ii. 111.] under more just Lords and Governours. The Italian Gentlemen much delight in the art to catch birds, and in Gardens fitted to that purpose, with nets, bushes and glades, sparing no cost or industrie in that kind.

*The traffick.* Not onely the Gentlemen, but even the Princes of Italy openly professe to be Merchants (which our men, with leave may I say, foolishly disdaine) and onely permit the retailing of their goods to men of inferiour sort, keeping all trade in grosse or whole sale to themselves, or at least by their treasures (commonly great) and authoritie (such as it is) drawing the chiefe profit thereof into their owne purses. And by this course they keepe the Patrimonies descending from their Ancestors, and daily increase them (while our Gentlemen prodigall in expence, and ashamed to make honest gaine, destroy their Families.) But of all trades, they are most enriched by silke and clothes made of it, especially they of Florence and Lucca, where the Gentlemen for exercise of this trade, keepe open shops.

*Silke wormes.* The Silke-wormes are vulgarly called Farfalli, which infold themselves in a piece of silke they weave of an ovall forme and yellow color, and some of them so infolded, are let out for preservation of the kind, by clipping that piece of silke they weaved; the other pieces

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are set in the Sunne, that the infolded wormes may die, whereby the silke is made excellent, which otherwise would bee little worth. They feede on the leaves of Mulberry trees, and the Duke of Florence plants these trees in the ditches upon the highway, from which if any passenger pul a bough, he paies a great penalty. Wondering at this making of silke, and the art to weave the same, after I returned into Englonde, by acquaintance with som that for experience kept these wormes, I found, that about the moneth of August they cast seed upon paper or linnen cloth wheron they are laid, and soone after die. That this seed laid aside al winter, is set forth in the Sun the next May, or assoone as the Mulbery trees yeeld leaves to feede the wormes. That by the Suns heate, the wormes take life of that seede in the forme of an horse haire at the first; after growing to a strange bignes, feeding greedily upon those leaves. That they begin then to be sick, & growing of a yellow color leave their feeding. That they are then put into a place fitted for their work, with corners little distant one from the other: that they then weave and infold themselves in their webs (as I said.) That part of the webs are laid aside to preserve the wormes, out of which they eat out their way, and come forth winged like butterflies, but little use the wing, and these webs yeeld no silke thread, but being dressed and severed, do serve for baser uses. That the rest of the webs are put into an oven, to choke the wormes, which webs yeeld excellent silke, dissolving it selfe into small threads. Lastly, that the wormes preserved by spoiling their webs, out of which they eate their way, do (as I said) cast a seed or glutinous matter upon a paper or linnen cloth, and then die. And that all these things, namely, to come to life, to be fed up, to weave their web, to leave seede for generation, and to die, are finished in the space of foure moneths.

After taking my journey into Turkey, I did see infinite numbers of these wormes in the greater and lesser Asia, where I found, that these wormes grow to full bignes

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*The traffick.*

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from the moneth of February to the moneth of May, then leave their meate, then have houses made of reedes for them of purpose like the hives for Bees, but more large, where (as I said) they involve themselves in their owne webs, which being set in the Sunne, the wormes die within them, and the webs moistned with hot water, are with wheelles drawne into small threads. That some of these webs for preservation of the kind, are laid aside within the houses, where the wormes eate out their way, and comming forth winged, are laid upon a linnen cloth, upon which they leave the foresaid seed or glutinous matter, and so die. That these clothes are laid aside in winter, but in the moneth of February next following, are set out in the sun, or more frequently caried in the bosoms of country people, both men and women, by which heat the seed yeelds worms at first no greater then a graine of mustard seed, but after growing to the length of a mans haire as he usually weares it on his head, & to the thicknes of a mans little finger. Formerly in the chapter of Proverbs, I said that proverbially the Merchants of Florence were called crafty, those of Lucca greedy, those of Venice bold (ventring al in one vessel) those of Milan faithfull (professing if neede be, that the plague is in the house they desire to sell.) And I there mentioned this proverb of the Venetian trafficke; Ilbianco & il Nero (cioè pepe & cottone) hanno fatto venetia ricca. Black and white (that is, pepper and cotton) have made Venice rich. English Merchants bring into Italy Tinne, Leade, Herrings (especially dried, which they esteeme among dainties), Conny skins, Veches, Kersies, and sometimes English Corne. They also bring thither divers commodities from Dantzke, as Cordage, Hempe, Caviale, Tallow, Waxe, Indian Hides, and like commodities of Poland and Moscovy. The Netherlanders bring into Italy dried fishes, and the commodities of all Nations (with which they trade both here and in all places.) Into England, Netherland, and over parts, the Italians send Velvets of Genoa, Taffaties of Florence and Lucca,

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Sattens of Bologna and other Cities, Stuffles of Milan as Fustians, and divers kinds of Silke woven and in thread, Gold and Silver, Clothes of gold and silver, Alom, and like commodities brought to Venice out of Turkey. From the Ilands of the Mediterranean Sea subject to Venice, they send to us Malmsies and Muskedine wines of Candia, Corrands of Zant and Cephalonia. The ships of our parts which bring Corne or any victuals into Italy, are received with all courtesie, especially by the Duke of Florence in the haven of Ligorno, and even by the Pope in the haven of Civita Vecchia. The Italians have great traffick with the Turks in the Mediterranean Sea (whereof we shal speak more hereafter) but out of the straights of that Sea, they trade little in our age, or nothing at all, (except sometimes into Spaine) with their owne ships. And for Navigation (whereof I must speake in the Chapter of Commonwealths) they have small skill in that art. Their ships are of great burthen to receive commodities, and well furnished with Ordinance against the Turkish Pyrates, but they are slow, and not easily turned, so as sometimes the Turkes lesse daring at sea, yet take some great Venetian ships with their small barques or gallies. For the Italians and Turkes make their Navall fights with gallies, and no other ships, whereof the Venetian and Spaniard have great numbers in this Sea. Wee reade, that the Pope made league with the Venetians and Spaniards for bearing some charge of war against the Turkes, and it is likely he hath some galleys, in that one sole haven of Civita Vecchia belonging to him, but I never chanced to see any of the Popes gallies. The Duke of Florence at this time had ready armed to spoile the Turks some 5 or 6 gallies: the other Princes have none at al. These gallies are much different in bignes, and have their names of the number of the oares rowing them, as Triremes of three oares on each side, Quindeciremis of fiftene oares, and the Mediterranean Sea, being subject to small ebbings or flowings of tides, and little subject to stormes, these galleys safely row betweene the neigh-

*Turkish  
Pirates.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The Greekes  
foolish  
mariners.*

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bouring shoares, and every night put into some Haven or Baye. The Italians are so much inamored of their owne land, as they desire to see no other soyle, and abhorre from venturing themselves at Sea, so as they seldome prove expert in Navigation, never bold. The Venetians have a Law, that every ship shall carry a young Gentleman of Venice in it, allowing him diet and a stipend, and also shall bring up a Venetian boy in it. Thus their wise Progenitors tooke care, that neither Gentlemen, nor the inferiour sort should be ignorant in Navigation. But the Gentlemen at this day so they may have the benefit of the Law, by receiving the stipend and the value of their diet for the Voyage, care not for the experience, and rather desire to stay at home, then trouble the ship any further. And for this cause the Venetians altogether use Greekes aswell for common Marriners as for Officers and Masters of their ships. And these Greekes (as I have often found by experience) except they can see the shoare (which by reason of the narrownesse of the Sea, and frequent Iles, may often be seene), are often in doubt, sometimes ignorant where they are, and the least storme arrising, make such a noise and confusion, as they bewray their ignorance and want of courage. Our English ships comming forth of the Harbour of Venice together with a Venetian ship, will saile into Syria and returne backe againe, before the Venetian ship can come thither. Whereof two reasons may be given. One that the English Marriners are paide by the voyage, not by the dayes or moneths of absence, contrarily the Greekes are paide by the Italians after the dayes of absence not after the voyage. The other reason is, that not onely the Italian ships are huge and great and slow of saile, but also the Masters, upon the first change of wind, or foreseeing of ill weather, either for feare, or because they are paid by the day not by the voyage, presently put into some Haven, whence commonly they cannot come forth, but with one or very few windes, whereas the English on the contrary have not onlie nimble swift ships, but



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themselves are so expert and bold, as in regard their losse is the greater the longer they are from home, they either saile if the winde be any whit favourable, or lye at hull, if the winde be full contrary, and so are reedy to take the first blast of winde serving their turne.

Concerning the divers kinds of diet in divers Italian Cities, I have before related these things proverbially said. The Neapolitans are magnificall, spending more sugar then bread. The Florentines are of spare diet, but wonderfull clenlinesse. Those of Lucca keepe golden mediocritie in all things. The Tyberine Peares and Martioline cheeses are great dainties. Those of Genoa are of most spare diet, and no clenlines. The Mantuans feede on base beanes. The Ferrarians are inhospitall. The Padoans sup with halfe a penniworth of fish. The Venetians live sparingly. The Siennesi magnifically, and their dainties are Goates flesh, and fresh cheese. The Milanesi live plentifully, and provoke appetite with sharpe sawces. The Novocomenses eat without end, and drinke stoutly. Those of Piemont diet after the French manner, and those of Ancona basely.

*Their diet.*

And these things may perhaps be truly said, if the Italian Cities be compared one with the other, but many things may seeme lesse aptly said, if generally they be compared with the Cities of forraigne parts.

The Italians generally compared with English or French, are most sparing in their diet. Generally they require small preparation or furniture of their table, they eat neatly and modestly, but as they are not like the Spaniards, who are said to eat sparingly at their owne cost, largely at other mens tables, so howsoever they are not so great flesh-eaters as the Northerne men, yet if the bread bee weighed, which one of them eates at a meale, with a great Charger full of hearbes, and a little oyle mixed therein, beleve mee they have no cause to accuse Northerne men for great eaters.

They seldome make feasts, but if they make any, then out of their innated pride, disdaining to be surpassed by

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

any, they make them sumptuous, and that much more then ours, alwaies making the comparison equal of one degree against the other. And this is most certaine, that they infinitely passe us in the expences about their Gardens, in fitting places for birding, in drawing water to them, and adorning the Conduits head with Imagry, in Chapels, and other buildings, of which things some yeeld them fruite, the other last perpetually: for they bestow their money in stable things, to serve their posteritie, where as our greatest expences end in the casting out of excrements, which makes me lesse commend our expences in great provisions of meate, as well at feasts as daily diet.

*A paradox.*

And give me leave to hold this paradox, or opinion against that of the common sort; that the English were never more idle, never more ignorant in manuell Arts, never more factious in following the parties of Princes or their Landlords, never more base (as I may say) trencher slaves, then in that age, wherein great men kept open houses for all commers and goers. And that in our age, wherein we have better learned each man to live of his owne, and great men keepe not such troopes of idle servants, not onely the English are become very industrious, and skilfull in manuell Artes, but also the tyranny of Lords and Gentlemen is abated, wherby they nourished private dissentions and civill Warres, with the destruction of the common people. Neither am I moved with the vulgar opinion, preferring old times to ours, because it is apparant, that the Cloysters of Monkes (who spoiled all, that they might bee beneficiall to few), and Gentlemens houses (who nourished a rabble of servants in idlenesse, and in robbing by the high waies) lying open to all idle people for meate and drinke, were cause of greater ill then good to the Commonwealth. Yet I would not bee so understood, as if I would have the poore shut out of dores, for I rather desire, that greater workes of charitie should be exercised towards them, to which wee should bee more inabled by honest frugalitie, then by

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foolish prodigalitie; I call it foolish, and thinke the vulgar sort of prodigals worthy of all ignominy, who with huge expences keepe many kennels of dogs, and casts of hawkes, and entertaine great numbers of strangers, sometimes not knowne by name, often scoffing at the entertainer, alwaies ingratefull, and so not only use them to live unlawfully without labour or sweate of their browes, but also in the meane time themselves will have a brother for their Buttler, and are so niggardly towards their kinsmen, yea, children and wives, as they provide not necessities for them, and have no care of their advancement, education, and meanes to live, but preferre vaine-glory before these religious cares. How much better were it for these prodigall men to lay aside some good part of their revenue to nourish learned men, to procure good Preachers for their companions and guides, to relieve vertuous men in their wants, and to spend the same to like noble and princely ends.

But I returne to my purpose. A stranger may live in Italy with lesse expence, then in Germany, where he must beare the charge of his consorts excessive drinking. And if any object the dearth of victuals, and wickednesse of Hosts in Italy, he shal find, that this is his owne want, not any ill of the Country; and when he hath experience to do his owne affaires there, he will be of my opinion. The Italians have small moneys of brasse, and for the least of them a man may buy bread, little papers of spice, or any such thing that is to be sold. These small moneys, the abundance of people in a narrow land, and the common peoples poverty, but most of all their innated pride, such as they had rather starve for want, then beg, these things make them doe any service for a stranger for a small reward, and make the passages of Rivers, or Channells (as at Venice), and all necessities, to be afforded for a small piece of money. Neither is it a small commoditie of these little brasse moneys, that it makes the meaner sort more ready to give almes. This benefit the English may well know by the want of like

*Living good  
cheape.*

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*The gentlemen  
of Venice  
frequent the  
markets.*

moneys, whereby the hire of Porters, all rewards and each almes being given in silver money, and the small pieces thereof being rare, all expences are much increased. The women of Italy know not the price of any thing, or ever goe to Markets (scarce are allowed to go to Church) neither do they trust their servants to make their market, but the richest of all Italy, and most noble (especially in Venice) daily buy their owne victuals and other necessaries. And in all Market-places stand little boyes with baskets, to carry any thing that is bought to their houses, which they easily find, knowing all streetes and allyes, and never faile to performe this honestly, though the buyer leave them, and (according to their custome) goe about his other affaires; for if they should fayle, they cannot escape punishment, being easily to be found in the Markets where they use daily to stand, and well knowne by face and name. Yet in truth the Italians dyet is so sparing, as almost strangers alone use these little Porters, and the very Gentlemen of Venice (which notwithstanding arrogate to themselves a preheminence above all Gentlemen of Italy with the singular title of Clarissimi), carry home what they buy to eate, either in the sleeves of their gownes, or in a cleane handkercher. They spend much bread and oyle, and the very Porters feede on most pure white bread, almost without any other meat, except it be some roots. And those that are richer, do for the most part feede on bread, neither remember I to have ever seene brown bread in Italy, only they eate sallets of hearbs with their bread, and mingle them with oyle. And I remember that I saw a barrell of oyle sold for twenty lyres, and a bushell of Wheate (containing forty eight measures, called Sata by the Latines, & used by the Hebrews) for 120 lyres, but the very Gentlemen buy their bread of the Bakers. Many times, especially in short dayes of Winter, they will breake their fasts with a bit of cake-bread or sweet bread (called vulgarly pasta reale, ciambolini, and generally Gentilezze), and a cup of sweete Wine, and so abstaine from dinner.



## OF THE DIET OF ITALY

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For the most part at table they use blacke or bay salt, which the Venetians having of their owne, forbid the use of any white salt brought into the territory, so as it is onely sold by stealth, and with danger of penaltie. The Magistrate daily useth to set the price of flesh, and all things sold in the Market, especially in the upper parts of Italy, and namely at Sienna, where strangers live very commodiously, and by this custome, a stranger can no more be deceived, then one of the Country. In the State of Florence, and especially at Sienna, a stranger may live more commodiously, then in any other part of Italy, because the inhabitants are most curteous (so as at Sienna they admit strangers to converse and dance with the chiefe Gentlewomen of the Citie), and because the language, especially at Sienna, is held the most pure, as also for that victuals are very cheape, and strangers neede not stand in feare of being murthered, as in Lombardy they doe. In the State of Milan, there is plenty of all kinds of flesh, especially of mutton, and abundance of whitt-meates, being commended above all other parts of Italy for delicate butter (not to be had elsewhere, except in some few large Valleys), and excellent cheeses (whereof great quantity is transported into forraigne parts.) And they no lesse then the Netherlanders, serve in butter and cheese every meale for the first and last dishes. In the Market places of Venice, there is plenty of mutton and veale, sold in little portions and by weight (there as in all Italy), and there is also plenty of fish, hennes, egges, Turkey hennes, and some store of birds, with great abundance of red herrings and pickled herrings, Sardelle, anchone, and like pickled fishes, of Caviale (a salt liquor made of fish) and Botargo (as I thinke the rone of a fish), of Piacentine cheese, and cheese of Parma, of mushrooms, snails, the hinder parts of frogs (all held for great dainties). And these things are to be had in more abundance, because the common sort eat little or no flesh, or fish, or birds, but onely hearbs, pulse, snails, and rootes, with white bread. I have spoken formerly of

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*Milan.*



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their fishing at Sea, and their shell-fishes (which they much esteeme), and Sea-fishes are indeed rarely found, but onely at Venice. Also they have little store of fresh-water fish, onely there is great aboundance of eeles, where the River Po endes in a Lake, neere the Adriaticke Sea, in the Dukedome of Feraria. The upper parts of Italy yeeld the same things, but in a farre lesse quantity, and in Tuscany they frequently eate young Goates flesh, which is very good and savory, and sometimes there will be wild Bores to be sold, and they delight much in fresh curds newly pressed, and made into little cheeses. The Italians sell al kinds of flesh in little pieces, and all things for diet in little portions, that the meaner sort, if they list, may at least taste the greatest dainties. The inner parts of Goates (vulgarly Animale), and the stones of Rammes and Regles, (vulgarly Granella), are esteemed great dainties, especially in Tuscany, which we cast away, being very good meate fried. And because the land is more populous then plentiful in victuals, they eate layes and other birdes, which we esteeme unwholsome.

*Of their  
manner of  
eating.*

In generall the Italians, and more specially the Florentines, are most neate at the Table, and in their Innes from morning to night the Tables are spread with white cloathes, strewed with flowers and figge leaves, with Ingestars or glasses of divers coloured wines set upon them, and delicate fruits, which would invite a Man to eat and drink, who otherwise hath no appetite, being all open to the sight of passengers as they ride by the high way, through their great unglased windowes. At the Table, they touch no meate with the hand, but with a forke of silver or other mettall, each man being served with his forke and spoone, and glasse to drinke. And as they serve small peeces of flesh, (not whole joints as with us), so these peeces are cut into small bits, to be taken up with the forke, and they seeth the flesh till it be very tender. In Summer time, they set a broad earthen vessel full of water upon the Table, wherein little glasses filled with wine doe swimme for coolnesse. They use

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no spits to roast flesh, but commonly stew the same in earthen pipkins, and they feed much upon little fishes and flesh cut and fried with oyle. They have no skill in the Art of Cookery, and the meate is served to the table in white glistening and painted dishes of earth (wherof the finest are much esteemed with us.) They are not willingly invited to eate with other men, esteeming basely of those, who live at other mens trenchers, calling them vulgarly *scroccatori d' i pasti*, shifters for meales. And the reason hereof is, that they would not be tied to invite others againe, which in their pride they would doe, if they should be invited to them, and this is the chiefe cause that makes them nice to converse with strangers. Of the Florentines, though most courteous, yet sparing, other Italians jeast, saying, that when they meete a man about dinner time, they aske *Vos' Signoria ha desinato*, Sir, have you dined? and if he answer, I, they replie as if they would have invited him to dinner: but if he answer no, they reply *Andate Signor, ch' è otta*, Goe Sir, for it is high time to dine. They thinke it best to cherrish and increase friendship by meetings in Market places and Gardens, but hold the table and bed unfit for conversation, where men should come to eate quickly, and sleepe soundly. Thus not provoking appetite with variety of meates, or eating with others for good fellowship, they must needes be more temperate, then others intised by these meanes to eate beyond hunger. In Cities, where many take chambers in one house, they eate at a common table, but each man hath his owne meat provided, the Hostesse dressing it, and serving each man with his owne napkin, glasse, forke, spoone, knife, and ingestar or glasse of wine, which after meate are severally and neatly laid up by the Hostesse. And at the table, perhaps one man hath a hen, another a piece of flesh, the third potched egges, and each man severall meat after his diet: but it is no courtesie for one to offer another part of his meate, which they rather take to be done in pride, as if he thought that he that had a sallet or egges,

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could not have a hen or flesh if hee listed for want of money. To conclude, they hold it no honour or disgrace to live plentifully or sparingly, so they live of their owne, and be not in debt, for in that case they are esteemed slaves. Thus living of their owne, they give due honour to superiours, so they returne due respect to them, otherwise they dispise him that is richer, saying in scorne, Let him dine twice a day, and weare two gounes if he will, it is enough for mee to have convenient diet and apparrell. They have a very delicate sauce for roasted meates, called Savore, made of slices of bread, steeped in broath, with as many Walnuts, and some few leaves of Marjoram, beaten in a morter, and mingled therewith, together with the juyce of Gooseberries, or some sharpe liquor put in when it is set on the table.

In some Cities and Universities, especially for the Germans sojourning there, and unwilling to buy their owne meate, they have ordinary tables to be paid by the weeke or moneth, at the rate of some eight or ten Crownes the moneth, which living they call a *la dozzina* (that is, by dosens or by the great); but it is much more commodious for him that hath some experience and skill in the tongue, to buy his owne meat, since in *Camere locande* (that is, hired chambers) the Hostesse at a reasonable rate of the chamber, is tied to dresse his meate, and give him napkins with like necessities, and there wants not good commoditie to buy al things he wants, and to live cheapely, as I have shewed in the expences of my journies through Italy.

*The Inner.*

The Italian Hosts are notable in fawning and crouching for gaine, so as they meete passengers at the Cities gates, and emulously invite them to their houses, with promise of all dainties, as if they would give them for nought, but when they are once come into the houses, all things threaten famine, and for that meate they have, if the passenger first agree not for the price, they extort so unreasonably, as nothing can bee added to their perfidiousnesse and covetousnesse. The Germans say, these are

## OF THE INNS OF ITALY

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faire-spoken, and most obsequious men in all things, till they come to the shot: for if any man love honourable titles, capping, bending of knees, and an humble looke, they will observe him to the full, but in the end the shot will be intolerable, and he shall pay for their fained courtesie and lowlinesse. And this extortion is not to be avoided by the best experienced, if they stand not continually upon their guard with these Fencers, especially in both the Marks (or Marquisates) where they are not Hostes, but devourers of passengers: And howsoever the Italian Hosts are more excusable in their extortions, because the Princes granting licenses to keepe these Innes, doe not sheare but indeede devoure them, and he that buyes, must needs sell, yet the Marchians inhospittall nature is singular and above all others. For the Florentines oppressed with like or greater exactions, yet use strangers much more curteously. I would advise the unexperienced passenger, that there being in these Italian Innes two ordinarie courses of eating, one al conto, that is upon reckoning, the other al pasto, that is, by the meale at a set rate (seldome exceeding three Giulii) the passengers for cheapnes should take his breakfast upon reckoning, or carry about him some almonds, figs dried, or Raysons, that dining upon reckoning, in case the Hosts set an excessive price on meat (for wo to him that eates without first knowing the price), he may seeme content to eate of his owne, taking onely bread and wine, (whereof the prices are knowne and ordinary), and so may containe their rapacity within some reasonable bounds: But at night because of his bed, he shall doe well to sup at the Ordinary, and before supper to know his bed and get cleane sheetes: yet he must not expect a feather bed, which that clime beares not, as too hot for the Rheines, but an hard mattresse, onely he shal have cleane sheetes, at least if he curiously demand them. Howsoever against the worst event, he shall doe well to carry linnen breeches, and to weare them in the ordinary sheetes; for the Italians if they have no kind of the French pox, yet for the most

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part are troubled with an itch, witnesse the frequent cry in their streetes of Unguento per la roгна, Ointment for the Itch. I formerly said that a passenger needs have no care of his Horse by the way, for it is the custome to agree for their meate as well as hire with the Vetturines, (so they call those that let Horses, and goe on foot or send a servant to meate them): But since the same Vetturines will also offer a passenger to agree with him in like sort for his owne diet, surely (as I have said in the Chapter of the manner to take journies) the passenger is in ill case, that is dieted by them, neither would I advise any so to doe, except onely in the way from Rome to Naples and backe againe, where a passenger in such a tumultuary journey, and by reason of that old custome, should otherwise be worse entreated. Lastly, a passenger shall doe wisely, especially at night to goe to the best Inne and of most fame, that he may be more safe from the losse of his money or hazard of his life.

The Italians hold it a great shame to be drunken, they sometimes salute one another with a cup, in manner of a health, but leave it to his pleasure when he will pledge them, and then he salutes him that drunke to him, as well as him to whom he drinkes, saying; Faccio ragione a vos' signoria, brindisi a vos Signoria. Sir I pledge you, and I drink to you Sir. The word Brindisi comes of the Dutch phrase, Ich brings euch, I will bring it to you, used when they drinke to any man, and this shewes the custome is borrowed from the Germans, and used by the obsequious Italians to please them, yet abhorring from drunkennesse, so pleasing to the Germans.

*Of the Wines  
of Italy.*

Italy yeeldes excellent Wines, and the common red wine is held very nourishing, so as the fairest Weomen will dine with the same, and a sop of bread dipped in it, thinking it will make them fat, (which kind of Women the Venetians most love, all things else being equall), yea, and more faire: So as they Proverbially say; Chi beve bianco, piscia bianco, a chi beve rosso, avanza il colore. He that drinkes white, pisses white, he that



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drinkes red, gaines the colour: These are the most famous Wines of Italy. La lagrima di Christo, (the teare of Christ) and like wines neere Cinqueterre in Liguria: La vernaza, and the white Muscadine, especially that of Montefiaschoni in Toscan: Cecubum and Falernum in the Kingdome of Naples, and Prosecho in Histria. In generall the grapes that grow high upon Elme-trees in the plaine, as in Lombardy, & especially the grapes of Modena, yeeld very small Wines, but those that grow upon hills and mountaines, resting on short stakes, yeeld very rich Wines. In the shops where they sell Muskadines, there be continually boyes attending with little wigges of sweete bread and Junkets, which the Italians dip in the wine; and having thus broke their fasts in winter time, they commonly eate no more till supper.

[The Third Booke

## THE THIRD BOOKE.

## Chap. I.

Of the Geographically description of Turkey, the Situation, Fertility, Trafficke, and Diet.



He Longitude of Turkey extends fifty five degrees and a halfe, from the meridian of forty foure degrees and a halfe, to that of an hundred degrees, and the Latitude extends forty degrees from the Paralell of tenne degrees, to that of fifty degrees. The Provinces of this Empire in Europe, are thus numbred. Illyris, Albania, Epirus, Græcia, Macedonia, Thessalia, Thracia, Mysia, Dacia (or Transilvania), Hungaria, and the Ilands under him, that lie in Europe.

*Illyris.*

1 Illyris a part of Sclavonia, is subject partly to the Turkes, partly to the House of Austria; the chiefe Cities whereof are Zara, (which together with the territory thereof, the Turkes tooke from the Venetians; the rest of the Province being still subject to the House of Austria): and Scordona, lying upon the Sea, as doth the former City and all the Province. Also Croatia vulgarly Cranaten, and of old called Liburnia, belongs to this Province. 2 Albania hath these knowne Cities, Dirachium, (vulgarly Dorazzo, of old called Epidaurus), and Vallona. 3 Epirus hath these Townes Chimera, Meiandria, Butrinto, Cestrina, and Nicopolis. Of old part of Epirus was called Acarnania. Of the roiall blood

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of this Province was Alexander Scanderbeg, who brought up in the Great Turkes Court, and upon occasion falling from him, did so much trouble that vast Empire.

4 Græcia was of old divided into Peloponesus and Helles. Peloponesus, of old called Aiggealia, Appia, and Pelasgia, is at this day named Morea, and it is a Chersonesus, that is, a necke of Land almost an Iland, onely joined to the continent with an Isthmus, that is a narrow peece of Land. The rest is compassed with the Sea, and was of old divided into Sutionium (which hath the Cities Sution and Carinthus); Argolis (which hath the Cities Argos and Neapolis), Achaia or Elis, (whereof the chiefe City was Elis); and Arcadia (whose chiefe Townes are Psosis and Arcomenus.) And here the River Emaus, or Erimanthus, springeth, and joyning with the Brooke Alpheus, fals into the gulfe of Arcadia. Also the River Inachus springs in the Mountaine Parthenius, and fals into the gulfe of Neapolis. Moreover Peloponesus hath a fifth Province called Lacedemonia or Laconia, (whereof the chiefe City was Lacedemon or Sparta, most famous of old). The sixth Province is Messena, in which is the City Metona now called Modon. The straight necke of Land joyning Peloponesus to the Continent, was against the Turkes fortified with a wall by the Christians, but the Turkes cast downe the wall, and tooke all the Province. Helles or Achaia, the second Province of Greece, containes Attica, Megaris, Boetia, Phocis, Regio Locrorum, and Ætolia. Attica is more famous then the rest, in which was the famous City Athens. Megaris is a small Region, the chiefe City whereof was Megaria, in which Euclides was borne. Boetia is a very large Region, so called of an Oxe leading Cadmus thither, who built the Boetian Thebes, so called for difference from nine other Cities called Thebes. The Mountaines Thermopulæ, derived from the Mountaines Acroceranuii, lying upon Epirus, devide Greece from the West to the East, (as the Apennine divides Italy), and the famous mountaines Otris Pelion and Ossa, are parts

*Græcia.*

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thereof. Of old Aulis was a famous City of Boetia, in which Iphigenia Daughter to Agamemnon was sacrificed. Phocis is a small Region, the townes whereof were Elatea, and Delphis seated at the foot of the Mountaine Parnassus, having the Temple of Apollo, not in the Towne, but upon a Rocke of the Mountaine, where springs the Castalian Fountaine, sacred to the Muses, and the Mount Helicon lies neere the same. The Region of the Locri is small, and the chiefe City is now called Lepanto. Of old a people called Pieres, comming out of Thrace, dwelt under Parnassus, of whom it was called the Pierian Mountaine, and the Muses were called Pierides. Doris pertaines to the Region of the Locri, and the chiefe City is Doricum, whence came the Doric Dialect. The last Province of Helles and of all Greece, is Ætolia, devided from Epirus by the River Achelons, falling from the Mount Pindus, and the chiefe Townes thereof are, Naupactus, now called Lepanto, neere the gulfe whereof, the Christian Navy under the command of Don Juan of Austria, gave a famous overthrow to the Turkish Navy in our Age. The other City is called Chaledon, whence was the Chaledonian Boare, sung of the Poets.

*Macedonia.*

5 The fifth Province of Turkey is Macedonia, of old called Migdonia, and Ematheia, the chiefe City whereof is Thessalonica, vulgarly now called Saloniche, to the Citizens wherof S. Paul wrote his Epistle. The Mountains of this Province Olympus Pelion Ossa, are famous by the fables of the Giants, & Athos is fained to passe the clouds with his top. 6 The lower part of Macedonia is called Thessalia, or Æmonia, of Thessalus the son of Æmon, (or as others say of Jason) the chiefe Towne whereof was Pharsalos, whose fields are famous by the victory of Cæsar against Pompey. 7 Thracia hath faire Cities, Trimontium (of old called Poneropolis and Philipopolis), Adrianopolis, and the head City Constantinopolis, (of old called Bysantium, now Stambol) seated upon the Bosphorus of Thracia. It hath famous Mountaines, Rhodope, Mela and Ismarus: Upon Propontis the

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Thracian Chersonesus (or necke of Land) lies upon the Hellespont, in which are the Townes Sesto and Callipolis. 8 The upper Misia is divided into three parts, Rascia, Bosnia and Servia, and the lower Misia into three parts, Bulgaria, Wallachia and Moldavia. In Bulgaria the River Danubius beginnes to be called Isther, which falls into the Euxine Sea, with foure strong and three lesser channels. 9 Dacia or Transilvania, was of old possessed by the Saxons, who there built seven Cities or Castles, of which the Province is called Septem-Castrensis, vulgarly Sieben burgen, and of old it belonged to the Kingdome of Hungary, but at this day is tributary to the Turks. 10 Hungaria so called of the people Hunni, was of old called Pannonia the lower, and of right belongs to the German Emperour, but of late the Turkes have subdued the greater part thereof. It hath many and strongly fortified Cities, as Debrezinum, Varadinum, Segedinum (vulgarly Seget); Castrum (taken by the Turkes) Strigonium vulgarly Gran (taken by the Turkes in the yeere 1543) Alba Regalis (at that time also taken by them) Quinqueecclesiæ (the seate of the Bishop) Buda seated upon the Danow; (twice or thrice taken and regained on both sides, of old the Kings seate) called vulgarly Offen, and Pesta (seated on the other side of Danow) vulgarly called New offen. The Hungarian Nation yeelds to none in strength and courage, not unlike the Scythians in language and manners. 11 The Ilands of Europe, in the Ionian Sea are these, Corcira (vulgarly Corfu) Cephalonia, and Zaintos, (in Latin Zazinthus, vulgarly now called Zante); all three subject to the Venetians. All the Ilands in the Ægean Sea, are subject to the Turke, being innumerable, among them are the Cyclades, so called because they lie round together, the chiefe whereof are Cytnos, Cyphnos, (vulgarly Sifano); Parus (now called Paris, famous for the Marble), Tenos (now called Tenasa), Naxus, Andros, and Delos the chiefe of all, where Apollo and Diana were borne. Next them, are the Sporades, so called of lying dispersed, among

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which are Melos, Lera, Nicaria, Ægina, and Lemnos (vulgarly Stalemine, whether they fable that Vulcane was cast downe.) The Iland Ibea, now vulgarly Negroponte is attributed to Greece, being separated from the continent with so little distance, as it can hardly be named an Iland, and it lies close to the City of Athens.

[III.iii.120.] The Turke hath great part of Asia, devided into Asia the lesser and Asia the greater. The lesser is now called Natolia or Anatolia of a Greeke word signifying the East, being a kinde of Isthmus or necke of land, lying betweene two Seas, the Euxine towards the North, and the Mediterranean towards the South, as it hath the Thracian Bosphorus (as passable by an Oxe swimming) and Propontis (as lying before the Sea) and Hellespont & the Ægean Sea) towards the West, and is confined with the River Euphrates towards the East. This lesser Asia is all subject to the Turk, and hath 16. Provinces. Bithinia, Fetus, Paphlagonia, Capadocia, Gallatia, Frigia (the greater & lesser) Misia, Ionia, Charia, Lidia, Pamphilia, Laconia, Licia, Cilicia, the lesser Armenia & Chomagena.

*Bithinia.*

1 Bithinia is at this day called Migtonia, and the chiefe Cities thereof are Nicea (the Metropolitan Citie, famous for the Councell in the yeere 314. of 318. Bishops meeting to beat downe the Arrian heresie, and there making the Nicene Creed), Lybissa (where Hannibal was buried,) Chalcedo (where one of the eight olde Councels was held by 530 Bishops,) Heraclia, Nicomedia, Phrasso, (where Esculapius was born,) and Bursa seated over against Constantinople, where some Turkish Emperours lye buried; and thither the great Turkes eldest sonne is sent to governe, (or in a kinde of exile, for he never sees his Father more till he be dead,) and thither he is sent assoone as hee is circumcised. 2. Some accompt Pontus for part of Bithinia, 3. Paphlagonia is the third Province. 4. Capadocia the fourth so called of the River Capadocis, and the chiefe Citie is Trapesuntium, now called Genech. And here the Amazones are said to have lived from the

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destruction of Troy, to the time of Alexander the Great. 5 Frigia the lesser was called Frixus of Frixus sonne to the King of Thebes, flying with his sister from his step-mother, who mounted on a Ramm with a golden Fleece (perhaps a Ship so called) his sister being drowned, & giving the name to Hellespont, and he came himself to this part of Asia, which at this day is called Palormi, & yeelds a most excellent Wine, and in this Province are Illium (or Troy) the Mountaines Ida and Tmolus, and the River Pactolus. The ninth Sybilla that prophesied of Christ, was a Frigian, and here raigned King Tantalus by covetousnesse leeing the use of his goods, of whom the Poets so fable. The greater Frigia is within Land. 6 The chiefe Cities of Misia are Trajanopolis built by Trajan and Adramitbium, whereof mention is made in the seventeenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and where Gallene was borne, who lived 140 yeeres. 7 Gallatia or Gallogrecia, was possessed by the Gals under Brennus, whereof the chiefe City is Laodicia, and to this Province belongs Pisidia, the chiefe City whereof is Antiochia. 8 The chiefe Cities of Ionia are Ephesus, (where was the Temple of Diana; which Erostrates a Gothe did burne, to be famous), Miletum (where Thales and Anaximines were borne) & Smyrna. 9 The chiefe City of Charia, was of old Halicarnassus (in which was the Sepulcher of Mausolius the King, held for one of the seven miracles of the World). 10 The chiefe City of Lydia was Sardis, where Cræsus raigned. 11 The chiefe City of Pamphilia was Zelotia, and in this Province is the Mountaine Chimera, upon the wild top whereof Lyons were found, as in the middle part yeelding grasse, Goates did feed, and in the bottome were Serpents, whereof came the fiction of the Monster. 12 In Lacæonia of old were these cities, Iconium (Metrapolitan) & Lystre, where Timothy Saint Pauls Disciple was borne, and the River Xanthus runnes through this Province. 13 Licia lies upon the Sea, between Pamphilia & Charia. 14 Cylicia lies under the Mountaine Taurus, upon the

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furthest bosome of the Mediterranean Sea, or Iccian Gulfe, where Alexander the Great overcame Darius, and there is Tarsus, now called Bias, in which Towne Saint Paul was borne. 15 Armenia the lesser, is thought by some to be the Land Ararat, upon the Mountaines whereof the Arke of Noah rested after the deluge. Under this Province some comprehend 16 Chomagena, being ful of Mountaines, and confining upon Asia the lesser towards the East.

The Geographers divide Asia the greater into five parts, according unto five Empires, the first of the Duke of Moscovia, the second of great Cham over the Tartars, the third of the Persian King, the fourth of divers Indian Kings, the fifth of Ottomon over the Turkes. And this last onely belongs to my purpose, therefore omitting the rest, I will speake of it. The great Turke hath these Provinces in Asia the greater, namely, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Chaldea, Assyria, and divers Ilands.

[III. iii. 121.]  
*Siria.*

1. Siria is vulgarly called Sorya, and containes Palestina, Phœnitia, Cælosyria, Damascena, Sirophœnitia, (and as some account) Mesopotamia. Palestina of old called Canaan, is subdivided into Idumæa, Judæa, Samaria, Galilea. Idumea of old called Edom, is not unfertile, and abounds with Palme-trees, but where it confines upon Arabia, is said to bee barren, and there are the Mountaines called Sur in Scriptures. It had these chiefe Cities of old, Maresa, Ascalon, Asotos. Judea is the second Province of Palestina, so called of the Tribe of Juda, and Jerusalem the chiefe City thereof is at this day called Chutz. The most famous places therof are Bethlehem, Bethania, Mount Olivet, Jerico, Joppe where S. Peter raised Dorcas from the dead,) Lydda (where he healed the man sicke of the Palsie,) Arimathia (where Joseph was borne), and Hebron (where Saray the wife of Abraham and foure Patriarkes lye buried), The Hebrewes say, that the vally called Sittim by Moses, was most fertill, where now is the Lake Asphaltis, and in this valley stood Sodom and Gomora. Beyond Jordan is the desart of Betabora, where

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John baptised, and the Land Gilliad, where the Amonites and Moabites dwelt of old. Samaria the third Province of Palestine, had these Cities, Sichim, Capernaum, seated upon the Lake Geneseret, Nahim, where Christ raised the widowes son, Betzaida & Coratzen, & beyond the Lake Gadera is Samaria, the chiefe City of the ten Tribes, that fel from Juda. Galilea the last Province of Palestine, is devided into the upper and the lower. The upper called Gallile of the Gentiles, contains the Kingdome Basen, and hath these Cities, Chana the Greater, Cesarea Philippi, Seleutia, and Gaulon, and this Province had the title of Tetrarch. The lower had the same title, and contains the Regions of Decapolis, and Traconitis, beyond Jordan. The chiefe Cities thereof were Betsaida, Chana the lesser, and Nazaret. And here is the Mount Tabor, where Christ was transfigured: And the River Jordan running through all Palestine, hath two heads, Jar and Dan upon the Mount Antilibanus, and running thence into the lake Asphaltis, by the way makes two Lakes, Samachonitis (upon the confines deviding the two Galilies), and Genesaret or Tyberias, (upon the confines betweene the lower Galily and Samaria). Phenicia the second part of Syria, lies upon the Sea, and reacheth to Serophenicia, from the City Dora upon the Sea, to the Mount Carmelus, where it is confined with the Mount Lybanus. The chiefe Cities thereof were, Dora, Ptolemais, Acon, Tyrus, Sarepta, and Sydon. Selosiria the third part of Syria, so called as crooked or hollow, had of old the title of Tetrarch, in which is the City Damascus, which gives the name Damascena to the fourth part of Syria, and here Allabaster growes, of which they make vessels. Damascus is thought to be built by the servants of Abraham, and neere the City is a place, where Christ appeared to Saint Paul, and the Sepulcher of Zacharias is said to be there; and they shew a place, where Caine is said to have killed Abell. The soile is most fertile, so as Writers and the consent of all Men witness, that grapes grow there all the yeere, and that there is plenty



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of Quinces, Figges, Almonds, and Damasco Prunes. Sirophenia the fifth part of Syria, hath these Cities, Beritum (of old called happy Julia) Biblus, Tripolis, Laodicia, Antiochia (of old called Reblatha) which after it had beene decaied by a great Earthquake, was rebuilt by the Emperour Justinian and called Theopolis, a famous City in which the Professours formerly called Disciples, first had the name of Christians, and Histories testifie that Saint Peter was the first Bishop thereof. Mesopotamia the last part of Syria, is so called as lying betweene two Rivers, swift Tygris (so called of the swiftnesse, Tygris in the Medes tongue signifying an Arrow) and Euphrates. And by the yeerely overflowing of these Rivers after the Solstice (as Egypt by that of Nilus) the soyle is made most fertile, whereof Writers report wonders, namely that one measure sowed, yeeldes fifty and in some places sixty measures, and that plants perpetually flourish there, yet that the inner parts want water, so as the Inhabitants finding a spring, use to keepe it secret, that it may not be knowne to their enemies. At this day the Turkes call this Province Diarbecke, the Cities whereof are Edessa and Carra (which Moses in the twelfth Chapter of Genesis calls Haram) where Abraham dwelt when hee came out of Chaldea.

*Arabia.*

2 Arabia is the second part of the Turkish Empire in Asia the greater, which is subdevided into Petrea (rocky), desert, and happy Arabia. The Israelites lived forty [III.iii.122.] yeeres in rocky Arabia, being full of Mountaines and barren, whereof proceeded their murmurings. There is famous Mount Sinay, upon which Gods Law was published, and over against it Mount Horeb. In Sinay is the Region Nabathea, and the City thereof Petra (after called Arech) is in the Scriptures called Petra of the desert, and neere it lies the Region Agra or Agara, the Inhabitants whereof were called Agarens, as comming of Hagar Concubine to Abraham. Desert Arabia is barren, destitute of waters and covered with deepe sand, the Inhabitants whereof doe live in Tents, having no certaine



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abiding; but neere Euphrates some dwellings are, where is the famous Towne Tapsacum, after called Amphipolis. Happy Arabia lies almost in the forme of a Chersonesus or necke of Land, betweene the two great gulfes of the Sea, the Arabian gulf and the Persian, and it yeelds Cinnamon, Franckensence, Mirh, the Gumme Ladanum, and other precious Odours, and abounds with Hony, Waxe, and all kinds of Cattell, excepting Swine onely. It is said that Granes of Gold as bigge as Acornes are found here among the cloddes of the Earth. It hath the Bird Phoenix, of which kinde there is never more then one onely, which by striking of stones together, kindles a fier and burnes her selfe in her nest of myrh, and of the Ashes comes a worme, which becomes a Bird, and so the Phoenix lives againe. They fish pearles in the Arabian gulf, and Jewels are found upon the Sea shore. The Nation of the Sabæans, is more famous then any other in this Province, whose Region called Saba, is celebrated for plenty of Franckensence, and it hath woods of Trees, which being cut, yeeld a frothy humour that turnes into that odour. The Cities of happy Arabia are, Medimnat Tolnaby (that is, the City of the Prophet, because Mahomet is said to have written his Alcorane there) and Mecha (famous by Mahomets Sepulcher.) The Kingdome of Ormus is part of happy Arabia, having a peculiar King, but tributary to the King of Spain, as he is King of Portugall, the Metropolitane City whereof rich in trade, is called Ormus.

3 Babilonia the third part of the Turkish Empire in Asia, hath the metropolitane City of old called by the same name, but in these dayes called Bagdet. *Babilonia.*

4 Chaldea the fourth part lies on the East side of Babilonia, whereof the chiefe City is called Uhrr in the Scriptures, from whence Abraham upon Gods commandement went to Haran a City of Mesapitania. *Chaldea.*

5 Assiria the fifth part is so called of Assur the sonne of Shem, whereof the chiefe Cities are Ninus, called Nive in the Scriptures, (the old seate of the Kings, *Assiria.*

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*The Ilands  
of Asia.*

built by Assur) and Aruela (famous by the victory of Alexander the Great against Darius the Persian King.)

6 The Ilands of Asia are the sixth part of the Turkish Empire in Asia the greater, and they lie either in the Mediterranean Sea, or in the Archipelagus, or in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean Sea, lies Candia (of old called Creta) famous of old for having one hundred Cities, and by the labyrinth of Dædalus, and it was called Creta of the Earths whitenesse, from whence great quantity of Muscadine Wines are exported into divers parts of Europe, and it is subject to the State of Venice. Rhodes lieth in the same Sea, and was of old famous for the residence of the Knights of Hierusalem, but at this day is possessed by the Turkes driving out those Knights, (who now have their residence in Malta an Iland, neere that of Sicily). Cyprus is an Iland in the same Sea, and is most fertile, yeelding Canes of Hony, whence Suger is made, and rich Wines, and abounding with many things required for life and for pleasure, and this Iland the Turks in the last Age took from the Venetians by force of Armes, the chiefe Cities whereof are Famagosta and Nicosia. The Archipelagus hath innumerable Ilands, whereof the principall and most fruitfull are, Tenedos (small in circuit) but famous by the Navy of the Greekes harbouring there at the siege of Troy) Lesbos, Lemnos, Mitelene, (at this day called Metalon of the chiefe City); Samnus of old called Sicania, (where Hypocrates was borne) and Chios (now called Zio) more esteemed then any of the rest, for the Marble, Malmesey wine, Masticke, (the juyce or gumme of the tree called Lentiscus), and no lesse for the many rich commodities it yeelds, then for the goodnes and largenes of the soyle.

[III.iii.123.] The Ilands of the Indian Sea belong not to the Turkes, and therefore I will omit them.

The Turkish Empire stretcheth it selfe yet farther, containing great part of Affrica, which by the Grecians was called Libia, and the word in the Greek tongue signi-

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fying horror and cold, gave the name to Africa, as being void of cold. The Mountaine Atlas in Affrick (as Taurus in Asia, which in some parts is called Caucasus and Imaus, as the Mountaines of Europe are generally called the Alpes), doth divide this Countrie into many parts, stretching it selfe towards the East, and so forward to Nilus; which parts or Provinces are knowne by these names; Mauritania, Affrica the lesser, Syrenaica, Marmarica, Ægyptus, Lybia, Æthiopia, the Regions under the Mountaines of Luna, and the Ilands.

1 Mauritania Tingitana, contains two Kingdomes, Fessa (whereof the King of Spaine holds some part) and Morocco (subject to the Turkes.) Of old it had these townes Tingis (Metropolitane) and Luxon, (neere which are the Gardens Hesperides, which the Poets fable to have Aples and trees of gold.) At this day the two chiefe Cities are called Fessa and Morocco. At the Straight Sea, betweene Spaine and Affricke, the mountaines Abila in Affrick, and Calpa in Spaine, are of that forme, as men would judge they were once joyned, whereupon the Poets fable, that Hercules devided them, and did let in the Ocean, and so made the Mediterranean sea, and for this cause the Straight is called the narrow Sea of Hercules, and the Pillars of Hercules were erected on Affrickes side, which the Emperour Charles the fifth added to his Coate of Armes. Mauritania Cæsariensis, was also called Numidia; for the people being rich in Cattell, and dwelling in Tents, and when they had eaten the grasse of one place, then removing to another, were of their pastures called Nomades, and after changing a letter, became to bee named Numidæ.

*Mauritania.*

2 Affrica the lesse, a most fertile Region of old, is at this day called the Kingdome of Tunis, and the chiefe Cities, are Hippon (Metropolitan, where Saint Austin was Bishop), Utica (renowned for having Cato a Citizen), Carthage (where Tertullian was borne), Tunis (at this day chiefe), Madaura (where Lucius Apuleius was borne), and Tacapa (where the Vines are said to yeeld Grapes twice

*Affrica the lesse.*

## JAMES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

The inhabitants of Atsanaga, are  
 of a middle between white and blacke. At the Promon-  
 tory called the white Cape, is the Citie called Argen, where  
 the Portugalls and Portugalls trade together. At the  
 Promontory called the Greene Cape, the River Niger  
 falls into the Atlantick Ocean, and the inhabitants are  
 called Negroes. This tract contains many Kingdomes,  
 namely, Senega, Cameroe, Tambot, Guangara (where the  
 Garamantes dwell of old), two Kingdoms of Nubia, and  
 other Kingdomes, which I omit as subject to their  
 Kings, or to Pretz Jan, and so not belonging to our  
 purpose.

*Æthiopia.* 7 *Æthiopia* is divided by Nilus into inward and out-  
 ward. Inward *Æthiopia* is divided by old Writers into  
*Æthiopia* properly so called, Trogloditica, and Barbaria,  
 and in the middle thereof is the Iland Meroe, made by  
 Nilus, in which was a City called Meroe, the seate of the  
 old Kings, after called Saba, whence was the queene which  
 came to Salomon, and the Eunuch of Queene Candaces,  
 whom Philip baptized. The Troglodites live in caves of  
 the earth, and their kingdom is at this day called Adel.  
 Barbaria extends eight degrees beyond the *Æquator*, from  
 the promontory called Capo di Guardavi, to the Gulfe of  
 Barbary, and was so called of old. The outward *Æthiopia*  
 is called *Ægisimba* by Ptolomy, and contains the King-  
 dome of Amatzon, and of Vangue, seated under the  
 Equinoctiall line. All *Æthiopia*, and part of Libia, are  
 said to be subject to Pretz Jan, therefore I say no more  
 of them, nor of the Kingdomes under the Mountaines of  
*Libia*, as pertaining not to my purpose.

¶ Next of the many Provinces under the Mountaines  
 of *Libia* beyond the Equinoctiall line, I will adde, that the  
 Province of Capo di buona speranza (the cape of good  
 hope) is inhabited by blacke, and nothing different from  
 the *Æthiops* and Lybians, though they have a greater  
 distance of many degrees towards the South, equall to the  
 distance of the farthest part of Spaine, and live under the  
 temperate Zone.

[III.]

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Balsam out of the boughes, and being cut with a knife, yeelding the more precious Opobalsamum, and at this day the same is found even at Caiero in the Gardens of the richer sort. They say also that Corall is found in the Red Sea. I had almost omitted the Citie Arsinoe, also called the Citie of the Crocadiles, because the Crocadile was there worshipped. Nilus falles into the Mediterranean Sea in seven great Armes, which have the names of the adjacent Townes, namely, Heracleoticum (or canopicum), Bolviticum, Sebaniticum, Patinicum, Mendesium, Caniticum, and Peluseacum: the first and the last whereof are one hundred and seventy miles distant one from the other. The Nilus doth yeerely overflow, and thereby gives incredible fertility to the ground, and the snow melting upon the Mountaines of Luna, or the constellation of the Moone and Mercury, are thought to bee causes of this overflowing. And the same happening to bee greater or lesse then usuall, or comming later or sooner then usuall is a signe of dearth to them, whereof Pliny saith, that Egypt in twelve cubites height of the floud, seeleth famine, at thirteene cubites is hungry, but that fourteene makes them merry, fisteene safe, and sixteene brings plenty and dainties. It is strange, that all other Rivers eating and consuming their bankes, Nilus rather increaseth them, by bringing with it a mud, that covers the sand, and doth as it were dung the fields, to make them more fertill. In sixty dayes after the floud, the fields are cleare of water. The floud increaseth from the Summer Solstice, to the Suns entring into Libra, and after the water retires into his owne bed. About the twelfth of October they sow their fields, and in May following reape their harvest. Egypt with the Provinces belonging to it, hath long been subdued by the Turkes.

*The overflow  
of Nilus.*

6 Lybia hath divers Provinces. Biledurgeret, that is, the Region of Dates, is inhabited by the black Getuli. From thence towards the River Niger, lye the Deserts of Lybia, waste, and full of Lyons, Pardes, and other fierce and venemous beasts (whereof came the fictions of

*Lybia.*



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Medusa and Perseus.) The inhabitants of Atsanaga, are of a colour betweene tawny and blacke. At the Promontory called the white Cape, is the Citie called Argen, where the Arabians and Portugalls trade together. At the Promontory, called the greene Cape, the River Niger falles into the Atlantick Ocean, and the inhabitants are called Nigrite. This tract containes many Kingdomes, namely, Senige, Gambrey, Tambot, Guangara (where the Garamantes dwelt of old), two Kingdoms of Nubia, and other Kingdomes, which I omit as subject to their Kings, or to Pretz Jan, and so not belonging to our purpose.

*Æthiopia.*

7 *Æthiopia* is divided by Nilus into inward and outward. Inward *Æthiopia* is divided by old Writers into *Æthiopia* properly so called, *Trogloditica*, and *Barbaria*, and in the middes thereof is the Iland *Meroe*, made by Nilus, in which was a City called *Meroe*, the seate of the old Kings, after called *Saba*, whence was the queene which came to Salomon, and the Eunuch of Queene Candaces, whom Philip baptized. The *Troglodites* live in caves of the earth, and their kingdom is at this day called *Adel*. *Barbaria* extends eight degrees beyond the *Æquator*, from the promontory called *Capo di Guardavi*, to the Gulfe of *Barbary*, and was so called of old. The outward *Æthiopia* is called *Ægisimba* by Ptolomy, and containes the Kingdom of *Amatzen*, and of *Vangue*, seated under the *Æquinocctiall* line. All *Æthiopia*, and part of *Libia*, are said to bee subject to Pretz Jan, therefore I say no more of them, nor of the Kingdomes under the Mountaines of *Luna*, as pertaining not to my purpose.

8 Onely of the many Provinces under the Mountaines of *Luna* beyond the *Æquinocctiall* line, I will adde, that the inhabitants of *Capo di buona speranza* (the cape of good hope) are exceeding blacke, and nothing different from the *Æthiopians* and *Lybians*, though they have a greater latitude by thirtie degrees towards the South, equall to the latitude of the farthest part of Spaine, and live under the temperate Zone.

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9 The greatest Iland of Affrick called Madagascar by the inhabitants, and Saint Laurence by the Spaniards, is of the Mahometan Religion, and is said to abound with the medicinall wood Santalum, with Amber and Elephants. The Canary Ilands called of old the fortunate Ilands are sixe (or more as some write) in number, whereof Canaria the greatest gave the name to the rest, which are subject to the King of Spaine, as are likewise the Hesperides, little Ilands seated over against the greene Cape. The Turkish Emperour hath (to my knowledge) no other Ile of Affricke under him. [III.iii.125.]  
*Madagakar.*

The Turkish Empire being so vast, and containing great part of Europe, Asia, and Affrick, the temper of the aire cannot bee otherwise described, then by particular parts thereof. But out of the description of this Empire (in the journall of the first Part), and by comparing the particular Provinces, with others of the same longitude and latitude, and by the fruits and exported commodities here to be mentioned, the temper of the ayre may bee knowne, or at least conjectured more easily. To this purpose I will onely adde, that I landing in Palestine about the end of May, found their wheate harvest almost inned, and in the Haven of Joppa, bought about a thousand Abricots for sixe Aspers. And the yeere following when I sailed from Constantinople towards Italy, that about the middst of March, I did eate pease and other pulse in the Greeke Ilands. *The situation.*

Lastly in Palestine, Cyprus and those parts, partly I understood by others, partly I found by experience, that it seldome raines, and that about September and October onely, and not often at that time, but so violently for the time, as if it would beate downe the very houses, falling (as it were) by palefulls at once, and that the fields are watred with night dewes, at the fall whereof no man stirres out of dores, but with his head well covered, for danger of sicknesse, all men using to keepe in the house till the dew be dried, while in the meane time by day the heate is so excessive, as a man can hardly indure his

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apparrell, though it be of linnen or silke, if it hang not loose but be close about him.

*The fertility.*

The fertilitie of the soyle generally through this Empire, is exceeding great, and the goodnesse and varietie of the fruits, equalleth and in some places passeth Italy. The wines of Greece, of Mount Libanus, and especially of Palormo in Natolia, are exceeding rich and good. Yet have the Turkes lesse plenty of all things then Europe, for they very sparingly and onely to serve necessity, either set plant or sow, great part of the people being wasted with warres, and they that remaine, having not free fruition of their owne goods, in the great tyranny under which they live, aswell of the Emperour, as of under-Governours changed at least once a yeere, and the generall rapacity and licentiousnesse of the souldiers. Hence it is that there be vast solitudes and untilled Desarts on all sides, where yet the ground of it selfe brings forth divers wild fruits without tillage. They have divers kinds of graine, Wheate, the graine called Milet, Barly, Oates, Rye, Pease, and al kinds of Pulse, which for the kinds are like those of Europe, but the Wheate for the bignesse of the graine, and so the rest, are to bee preferred before them. There is great abundance of Rice, Flax and Cotton growing in the fields. They have good plenty of all kinds of Cattell, yet are no more industrious in grasing and feeding heards, then in sowing or planting; and so they have Egges, Hennes, Rice, Hony (which in a composition they drinke), Fruits and Bread for daily foode, they desire no other dainties or greater riches, since they can neither injoy their goods while they live, nor yet bequeath them at death, and nothing is more dangerous, then to be accounted rich. The Caloiri or Greeke Monkes in Candia, with whom I abode for a time, shewed mee fields, which the yeere past had yeelded them ninety five measures of graine for one sowed: but Candia, though it lie in the compasse of the Turkish Empire almost on all sides, yet is subject to the State of Venice.

The Iland Chios (vulgarly Zio) is subject to the Turkes,

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and is famous for the pleasantnesse, as also for the fertilitie, yeelding Mastick (the fruit of the tree *Lentiscus*), and having abundance of Patridges, & of all kinds of foule. I have in my Journal of the first Part spoken of the most fertile Ilands, Cyprus and Mettilene. [III.iii.126.]

In Syria they have sheepe of strange bignesse, whereof many have tailes weighing twenty, and some thirty pounds, bearing wooll, and being wrethed to their heeles, more then the hornes of Rammes are. And let no man thinke this incredible, since the same is reported of Sheepe in Affrick; and this is confirmed by consent of all, who have been in these parts. Mules are somewhat rare, but they have innumerable Camels, a beast most apt to carry burthens, and lying patiently downe to receive them, and most able to beare hunger, and especially thirst. When the male and female ingender, they lye downe on their bellies, with tayle to tayle, and their heades many Elles distant one from the other, and in the time of the yeere when they are naturally prone to generation, they are fierce with a kind of madnesse, so as their masters then take heede of any violence they may doe them. The Turkes also have many Dromedaries, a kinde of beast not unlike the Cammell, but farre passing horses in swiftnesse, and very Cammels in patience of labour. Their Horses are rather faire then strong, and they make their skin shine, by laying them upon their owne dung dried. These horses either runne, (which often they put them to for spurts, and in bravery) or goe a foote pace (as they use to follow laded Cammels in journies), but they are not taught either to trot, or amble, as ours are, and are good for short journies, but not able to indure so long journies as ours doe. Therefore the Turkish Cavallery for warre is of more swiftnesse then strength, and the Germane horses being heavy, they easily overtake them flying, and as easily flye when they are beaten.

The Turkes have great plenty of sea and fresh water fish, and of birds and all foule, and for Christian buyers (whereof are great multitudes, especially at Constanti-



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nople) they furnish their markets therewith. And in truth at Constantinople, there is as great varietie and goodnesse of these kinds as can be wished. Onely the Oysters, though plentifull, yet have not the delicate salt taste that ours have, the Mediterranean Sea being nothing so salt as the Ocean. But in generall, the Turkes, by reason of the foresaid tyranny, and of their temperance in diet, doe little use fishing or fowling, or any like exercise.

*The Traffick.* Yea, by reason of the same tyranny of the Emperour, Governours and Souldiers, the Turkes carelesly and coldly exercise trafficke with Merchants. I grant, that they trade in Natolia, and other parts of their owne Empire after a cold manner, but they make no voyage by sea into forraigne parts, excepting some few that come to Venice. For they doe not labour in any kind more then necessitie forceth, and are so far from the insatiable desire of riches, as they avoide nothing more, then the opinion to bee rich. So as the Jewes, the Greekes subject to the Turkes, and other confederate Christians, exporting their commodities, they themselves have very few ships, the Emperour onely having some twelve great ships, well armed, to bring him necessities from Egypt to Constantinople. In like sort they have few Marrines, and those unexperienced and fearefull, using the Greekes their vassals, and other slaves taken in warre, to that purpose, and they much esteeme (that is gently treat) captives skilfull in Navigation. Some Townes keepe at their private charge a few small Gallies and Barkes, to rob the Christians, and the great Turkes Navie consists all of Gallies, nothing comparable to those of Venice, and they winter at Constantinople, and another Haven in Greece, whereof I shall write more largely in the discourse of the Turkes Commonwealth.

Among other Cities of trade, they have two very famous, one in Asia, the other in Affrick. That of Asia is called Aleppo, and it being within land, the Port thereof is called Scanderona by the Turks, and Alexandretta, by the Christians, whence the commodities of



## OF THE TRAFFIC OF TURKEY

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Merchants are carried upon Cammels, and the fifth day arrive at Haleppo, whether the commodities of Persia are brought by the River Euphrates, and upon Cammels backes, from the Citie Taurus, of old subject to the Persians, but in our age subdued by the Turkes. The Indian commodities are brought thither by the red sea, and the Gulfe of Arabia. The famous Citie for trade in Affricke was called Babylon, and now is named Alcaiero, whence the commodities of India, Egypt, and all Affricke are exported. Moreover, upon the mouth of the greatest arme of the River Nilus, the City Alexandria is seated upon the Sea, some few dayes saile from Alcaiero. [III.iii.127.]

The Venetians bring into Turkey woollen clothes, which they call broad, being died Scarlet, Violet, and of all colours, and they are so strong & well made, as they will last very long, so as the Turks prefer them before our English clothes. And because the Venetians furnish them in great quantity, they use few other clothes of that kind. Also the Venetians bring to them Sattins, and Damasks (made in Italy of Dalmatian silk) and great quantity of Gold and Silver, to buy the pretious commodities of Turkey. Whence they carry out raw silke. For by reason of the foresaid tyranny, as the Turkes are negligent in Husbandry and trade, so are they in manuell Arts, not drawing their Silke into threads, nor weaving the same into clothes. And howsoever they have infinite numbers of Silke-wormes, especially at Tripoli, and in most parts of Asia, which make great quantitie of Silke, (as I formerly said in the discourse of Italy), yet they sell this Silke raw and unwoven, and buy of the Venetians the foresaid clothes made of their owne silke, so as the silke-wormes, may well be said to bee more diligent, and more to promote the publike good, then the inhabitants; for they swarming in all Gardens, diligentlie finish their web, while the idle inhabitants yeeld the commoditie thereof to strangers.

*The Venetian  
Trafficke.*

The Venetians also export from Turkey, Spices, and Apothecary wares, and great quantitie of the Dye called

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Indico. They export Galles, Cotten, wooll, Cotton threads, Chamlets or Grogams, made of the finest haire of Goates, not sheared but pulled off from their backes, and woven in Galatia, a Province of the lesser Asia. They export Turkey Carpets, Goates skinnnes wrought, and died into divers colours.

*The English  
Traffick.*

The English bring to the Turkes Kersies wrought and dyed of divers colours and kinds, but they bring little Broad-cloth, wherewith they are aboundantie furnished from Venice. They also bring to them Tinne, and blacke Conni-skinnes in such quantitie, as the Turkes admiring the same, a Frenchman merily taxing our womens affabilitie, said, that in England there was such plenty of Connyes, and they so tame, as they were taken in the Taverns. The English export from them Spices and Apothecary wares (for the trade into the East Indies was not then set up), they also export the foresaid commodities, raw silke, Indico, and other precious Dyes of Scarlet, Purple and the like, Galles, Mastick growing onely in the Iland Zio, Cotton, and the thread thereof, Turkey Carpets for tables, Chamlets, Grogams of Goates haire. The Merchants comming to Constantinople, hardly find there any commodities to export; therefore the English ships having unladed there, saile empty to Alexandretta, and there receive the commodities of Haleppo. Againe, the Italians who bring much gold and silver to Haleppo for the commodities there to bee sold, doe againe receive gold and silver for such commodities as they bring to Constantinople, and carry the same backe to Venice. The English lying at the Ilands of Zant and Cephalonia, subject to the Venetians, and at Petrasso, seated in the Gulfe of Corinth, and subject to the great Turke, export Corrands: others from Algier (a Port of Barbary) export Sugar: others from the Iland Candia (subject to the Venetians) export Muskadines: and others from divers Ilands export earthen dishes and vessels painted, which for the purenesse are much esteemed and used in Italy, and in our parts Northward.

## OF THE TRAFFIC OF TURKEY

A.D.  
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The swords of Damasco are famous for the mettall, piercing iron, and cutting a naile in pieces, but the exportation of them is forbidden, though our Christians supply the Turkes with all warlike munitions, which they might shame to have particularly named in this discourse of traffick. The precious Orientall commodities of Persia and the East Indies, have made the Trade of Turkish Cities to bee famous, namely, their spices and rich dies, and Jewels, which notwithstanding the Turkes have in part of their owne. For I formerly said, that Arabia yeelds Frankinsence, Mirrh, Cinnamon, and Jewels, and Egypt yeeldes Balsam, and Opobalsam (the more precious gumme of the Balme tree) in great quantity, omitting many commodities, which besides they have of these kinds. I speake not of Thessalonica a City of Macedonia, now called Saloniche, nor other Havens and Cities of trafficke in Greece, as being of lesse moment. All the precious traffick of Turkey, by reason of the inhabitants slothfulnesse, is in the hands of Jewes and of Christians, and was long in the sole hands of the Venetians, but the French in the age past, and the English in our age, have had (as I may say) a trafficking league with the Turkes, and so partake that trade. And these three States onely (not to speake of the Germans, who at this time had warre with the Turkes, and never saile so farre to exercise trafficke) among so many States of Christians, have their Ambassadors at the Turkish Court. And if any other Christians arrive in that Empire (as the Flemmings often doe), they used at this time to come under the Banner of one of these three Nations. The Reader must understand, that when I was in Turkey, the English and Flemmings had not as yet begun their traffick in the East Indies, which is like to destroy the trafficke in Turkey, bringing many rich commodities from the well head.

[III.iii.128.]

For their dyet, the Turkes live sparingly, I had said slovenly, but that I remembred their frequent bathings and washings, and the curious clenlinesse of the linnen, and all other clothes which they weare: but I will bee

*Their diet.*

A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

bold to say, they feede negligently, and without any pompe or magnificence. The richer sort doe sit at meate like Tailors with their knees bended, upon carpets, or upon the grasse when they eate by Rivers sides and in Gardens, as they doe more frequently then in the house. And their table is so low, as they may well reach to it sitting upon the ground. About this table they cast a long towell to wipe their hands, but passengers by the high-way, and generally the ordinary sort of Turkes, use grasse in stead of this towell. Others carry about a table of leather coloured red or yellow, which table shuts and opens like a purse, and upon it they can set but one dish at once, it hanging hollow upon certaine buckels. Commonly they eate by the high-way upon the ground, and alwaies with their knees bended like our Taylors. They seeth their meat till it be very tender, so as they may breake it with their fingers, for they have no knives, neither have they variety of dishes set before them, but all sitting in a circle, fall upon one dish. Taking meat, they all together say a short prayer or grace, and talke not whilst they eate, but silently fall hard to their worke. They have abundance of all things for foode, aswell of flesh (excepting swines-flesh) as of birds, and other meates, but they abstaine from fish. They have plenty of Corne (at least sufficient for their temperate dyet), which is exceeding good, and farre bigger then ours. They are ignorant of the Arts of birding, fouling, hunting, or cookery, and having no lascivious appetite provoking them to gluttony, are content with simple meates. Their sobrietie in this kind cannot sufficiently be commended, and since their greatest men can bee content to feede on rice, and drinke water, it is no marvell, that with ease they keepe great Armies in the field.

All the Turkish housholdstuffe is contained, in one poore pot to seeth meate in, one spoone of wood, one cup of leather or wood to drinke in, a poore bed or matresse, yea often a single covered alone, and the earth serves them for bedsteed, table and stooles. They have



## OF THE DIET OF TURKEY

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no neede of a troope of cookes and scullions to dresse meate, and make cleane dishes. They willingly eate curds turned sower and mingled with bread and water, commonly called Mishmish, and fresh cheese or curds, and have plentie of milke, aswell of cowes as of goates. In stead of bread, they eate unleavened cakes, baked on the cinders, which commonly are mingled with a kind of seede. They feede commonly on hens, and rice (either sod alone, or with a hen or mutton, in a vessell full of holes, without any liquor put in when it is set on the fier, so as there being no other juce, but that of the meat, the rice is made very thick.) Within these narrow bounds is their most costly feeding restrained. In time of the yeere they feed much upon fruites, and keepe grapes all winter, so as you would judge them fresh. They abhor from swines flesh, as the Jewes do, for the rest I did never see, nor heare by relations of others, that the richest of them did affect any other variety of meate, then I have named, [III.iii.129.] and I have often seene Men of the better sort, eating out of the seething pot, without any dish set before them. The above named flesh of Muttons is very savoury, and the sheepe of Syria and the adjoyning parts of Asia, are of such greatnesse, as many times a taile of them, hanging to their heeles, and very woolly and fat, and close woven in many plights, doth weigh thirty or more pounds. They have also Venyson, for in the woodes there be many wild Goates dispersed, and I have seene a kind of fallow Deare in Syria called Gazelle, of which kind I have seene some brought out of Barbary into England.

And they much delighting in fruites, have excellent of many kindes, and in great quantity, namely Abricots, and muske Melones, and divers kinds of Pumpions, whereof one called Angouria, as bigge as our Pumpions, is exceeding full of a very cold juyce, being most pleasant for the coolenesse in any great heat, which coolenesse though I take to be unwholsome for one sicke of an ague, yet my selfe almost wasted with the burning of that disease, did vehemently desire to eate of this fruit, and found it

*Fruites.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

nothing hurtfull or rather healthfull to me. In the Haven of Alexandretta (or Scanderona) a Græcian the Master of a Venetian ship, gave me a present of foure or five Apples, which he called (as they vulgarly doe) the Apple of Adam, and I never in my life tasted so delicete a fruite. It was of forme like a long Peare, or rather for the crookednesse like a Cucumer of the lesser sort, and it had a most thinne skinne, of colour like a Peeches skinne, the least part whereof being opened, the juyce was easily to be sucked out, which was very pleasant, and not much unlike to the juyce of a figge newly pulled from the tree. If I should particularise all the kindes of pleasant fruites, I might be infinite therein.

The Turkes when they have eaten, not while they eate, goe like good fellowes together, and like Horses at once drinke for that meale, as greedily as if the water were turned into wine, which kind of drinke those that are zealous of their Law, and those that journey by the high way, more specially, and all Turkes in generall most commonly use, for which cause, those that journey use to pitch their tents, upon the banks of pure fountains or running waters, which they no lesse know, or as curiously search out, as we doe the best Innes or Tavernes: Besides commonly they have a cup (if I may so call it, being a purse of leather that opens or shuts with strings) hanging at their Horses saddle pomell, which as they sit on Horsebacke, they put downe into the fountaines, and draw water to drinke, not omitting to taste a good spring of water, no more then we would a peece of rare Wine. Their water, especially in Provinces lying neere the Sunne, is in this property contrary to ours, that it loosens the body no lesse, then the rice binds it. In Cities divers kinds of drinkes are to be sold, some esteemed as much as wine with us. One kind I remember presented unto us in Palestine by the Sobasha of Ramma, which was made of medicinall hearbs, to purifie and coole the blood, and they drinke it hot, so as it seemes a very physicall potion. They drinke sugar or hony mingled with water, and

## OF THE WINES IN TURKEY

A.D.  
1605-17.

water sodden with grapes, rosewater, and hony: and they have whole Tunnes of the juyce of Cytrons and Limons, which they willingly drinke; and all these kinds are to be sold in their Cities. Wine is forbidden by Mahomets law, which permits Aquavite vulgarly called Harech, which Aquavite they often drinke even to drunckennes. And whether it be out of the common error of mankinde to desire forbidden things, or out of the licentiousnes of Souldiers, which every day growes greater then other, howsoever in Idlenes they obey theire lawe in not planting Vines, yet not only the Janizaries, but even the religious men, will drinke wine largely, even to drunkenesse, with Christians as well Ambassadors as others, yea, if Christian passengers carry wine by the way for their owne drinking, and have a Janizary to protect them, yet they will familiarly come to drinke with them, and if they have no protector, they will take their wine and whatsoever they have else at their pleasure, so as their false Prophet hath onely provoked vice by forbidding it. Many Provinces yeeld rich wines, the chiefe wherof are the Greek wines, (which notwithstanding seemed to me for the most part to be corrasive, fretting the stomacke and entrals); and as well the white as red wines of Mount Lybanus and Antilibanus, which are carried to Tripoli, and as farre as Haleppo, (the wines about Jerusalem being sharpe and small): but the best wine of all is the white wine of Palormo in Natolia, which is like the Spanish sacke, but more pleasant to the taste, being not so sweete as the Canary wines, nor so harsh and strong as the Sherry sacke. This Wine is carried to Constantinople, where also good wines grow, planted by Christians there, but this is most esteemed: For onely Christians plant Vines and make wine, and howsoever the Turkes are content to take part of them at the Christians charge.

*Wines forbidden by Mahomet's law.*

[III.iii.130.]

The Turkish Souldiers being to fight, if they can find no wine, drinke the juyce of blacke poppy, called Opium, to raise their spirits to a kind of fury, thinking themselves made more valiant thereby: For howsoever we thinke

*Opium.*

A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

this hearbe, especially taken largely, to be dangerous for the health, yet there is not a Turke from the highest to the lowest, who doth not as it were daily use it, nothing being more frequently sowed, nothing more plentifully growing, especially in Natolia, nothing more easily finding a buyer: yea, if their Cammels and Dromidaries faile by the way, or upon necessity must goe further then they use to journey, as sometimes it fals out in Armies and other Journeys, then they give them this hearbe, by which they report their spirits so to be stirred up, as they will goe till they fall downe dead.

*No Innes  
in Turkey.*

In this vast Empire I did see no Innes, no not in their Cities, and a man shall rarely find any beds among Christians, and if he doe, yet the sheetes are made of cotten, intollerable for heate: For in Turkey generally they lie upon Tapestry Carpets, and sometimes in Cities upon a mattresse, with a quilt to cover them, and by the high way they lye upon straw, hey, or grasse. And in all places neere Palestine, they either by night lie upon the house tops on a plastered floare, or in yards upon the earth and in open Ayre, having the spangled Heavens for their Canopy. And not onely passengers, but all Turkes daily weare linnen breeches, so as in these Provinces not subject to cold, a man may better endure this poore kind of lodging: But the Turkish passengers, in stead of Innes,

*Hospitals.*

have certaine Hospitals, built of stone with Cloysters after the manner of Monasteries, where by charitable legacy of Almes, all passengers may have meate for certaine meales or dayes, especially the Pilgrims towards Mecha, for whose sake they were especially founded: And these houses are vulgarly called Kawne (or as others pronounce Cain) and the covered Cloysters of them, (built after their manner but one rooffe high), are common as well to Turkes as any other passengers to lodge in openly, and like good fellows altogether, upon such mattresses as they carry, or upon the bare ground, if straw be not to be had. For Christian passengers carry such mattresses and necessary victuals, which failing, they supply them in

## OF TRAVEL IN TURKEY

A.D.  
1605-17.

Cities and every day in Villages may buy fresh meates, but they must dresse their owne meate.

Neither is the Art of Cookery greater in Turkey then with us in Wales, for toasting of Cheese in Wales, and seething of Rice in Turkey, will enable a man freely to professe the Art of Cookery.

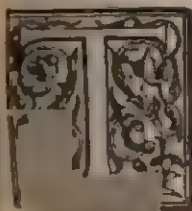
No stranger useth to travell without a Janizary or some other to guide him, who knowes the places where most commodious lodging is to be had: but passengers by the way use not to goe into Cities, but onely to buy fresh meates, which done they returne to the Tents of their Carravan, which use to be pitched in some field adjoyning. In hot climes neere the Sunne, (as I have said in the first Part writing my journey through Turkey) the Turkes there dwelling use to beginne their journeys towards the evening, and to end them two or three houres after the Sunne rising, resting in their Tents all the heat of the day. Christian passengers shall doe well to goe to the Italians Friers at Jerusalem, and to Merchants their Countreymen, or at least to Christians in Citties of traffick, and to the Ambassadors or Merchants of their owne Country at Constantinople, who being themselves strangers, and not ignorant of the evils incident to strangers, will no doubt in curtesie direct them to get convenient lodgings and other necessities.

*Of Travell  
in Turkey.*

### Chap. II.

[III.iii.131.]

Of France, touching the particular subjects of the first Chapter.



He Longitude of France extends thirteene degrees from the Meridian of sixteene degrees to that of twenty nine degrees, and the Latitude extends eight degrees from the Paralell of forty two degrees to that of fifty degrees. France of old was devided into Cisalpina and Transalpina.

In the description of Italy I have formerly spoken of Cisalpina, which was also called Togata of Gownes the



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Inhabitants wore, and Tonsa because they had short haire.

*France  
described.*

1 Transalpina, was subdevided into Comata and Narbonensis. Comata so called of their long haire, was againe subdevided into Belgica, (of which I have spoken formerly in the description of Netherland), into Aquitanica and Celtica, or Lugdunensis. Aquitanica the second Part of Comata, was of old called Aremorica, lying upon the Mountaines Pyrenei, and they differ in Language from the French, being more like to the Spaniards: next to the Pyreni dwelt the Ansi or Ansitani, called vulgarly Guascons, comming from Spaine. Their chief City is Tolouse, where is a famous University, & the Parliament of that Province. Another City called Bordeaux, hath also an University, but is more famous by the generall concourse of Merchants trading for French Wines. Beyond the River Garumna running through the midst of Aquitania, dwell the Santones, an ancient people, whose Countrey is called Santoigne. Next lie the Pictones or Pictani upon the River Loyer, whose Countrey is called Poictou, abounding with Fish, Fowle, and all Game for Hunting and Hawking. It hath three chiefe Cities, all seates of Bishops, Poictiers, Lusson, and Maillezais. The necke of Land adjoyning is called Aulone, and the Ilands, Noir de Chauet, De Dieu, and Nostre Dame De Bouin, &c yeeld great quantity of Salt to be transported. The Countrey of the Bituriges is called Berry, and the chiefe City Burges, of old called Avaricum, being an University, and the Citizens at sixe Faies in the yeere, sell great quantity of woollen cloath: for the Countrey hath rich pastures, feeding many flockes of sheepe, of whose wooll this cloath is made, besides that it aboundeth also with Wine, Carne, and all kinds of cattell. The City is within Land, and is called in Lattin Biturigum of two Towers. Next the same lies the Dukedome Burbonois, and other small territories.

Celtica or Lugdunensis another part of Comata, contains the part of Transalpina, that lies betweene the



## OF FRANCE IN GENERAL

A.D.  
1605-17.

Rivers Loyer and Seyne, beyond which last River France of old extended, and included good part of Netherland. First towards the West lies the Dukedome Bretaine, which hath three Languages in it selfe, all differing from the French. The first is of the people called Bretons *Bretons.* Bretonnant, comming from the English or Cornish Brittons the first Inhabitants, and the chiefe Cities are Saint Paul, and Treguiers. The second people are called Bretons Galot, being of Language neere the French, and the chiefe Cities are Rhenes, (where is the Parliament of the whole Dukedome), and Dol, and Saint Malo. The third is mixt of the two former, and the City thereof called Nantes, is the Dukes seate, and chiefe City of the Dukedome. From the Sea Coast thereof great quantity of salt made by the heate of the Sunne is transported, and there be mynes of Iron and Lead. Towards the East lies Normandy, so called of Men of the North, namely the Cimbri there inhabiting, and the chiefe City is Roane. Within Land lies Turroyme, upon the Loyer, and the chiefe City is Orleance. Next lies the little Countrey of France, like an Iland betweene two Rivers, so called of the Franckes a people of Germany, conquering and giving that name to the whole Kingdome. The chiefe City and {III.iii.132.} seate of the Kings is Paris. Picardy lies towards the North, and the chiefe City is Amiens. Upon France within Land towards the East lies the Province Champagne. Next to it lies the Dukedome of Lorraine, the Dukes whereof beare their Armes, an Arme armed breaking out of Cloudes, and holding a naked Sword, to signifie that the Dukes have supreme power from God alone. And the chiefe Cities of the Dukedome are Nancy (the seate of the Dukes), and Toul, and Neufchastell. The next Countrey of old esteemed part of Lorraine, was inhabited by the Lingones, and by the Mediomatrices, and the chiefe City by the Lattines called Mediomatricum and Metis, is now vulgarly called Metz, which City the King of France tooke in the yeere 1551 from the Empire, in the time of the Emperor Charles the fifth, who besieged the

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1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

same long, but in vaine, the Kings of France still holding it. The Dukedome of Burgundy belonged of old to the Empire, but is now subject to the Kings of France, the chiefe City whereof is Dijon, where the Parliament of the whole Dukedome is held. It hath other Cities, namely Boanlue, Challon, Chastillon, Noyres, and a place called Bourgougne, which gave the name to the Dukedome, yet others write that it had the name of Bourges, (that is Townes). The County of Burgundy belonged of old to the Empire, but is now subject to the King of Spaine, whose progenitor married the daughter and heire of the Duke of Burgundy, at which time the Kings of France tooke the foresaid Dukedome from the said daughter and heire. And this County is vulgarly called Franche Conte, as free from tributes. It hath two free Cities, Dole (an University) and Besancon.

*Narbonensis.*

2 The second part of Transalpina Gallia is Narbonensis; (which onely at this day, yet not all, may truly be called Gallia): It was of old called Braccata, of the Inhabitants apparell, and is called Narbonensis of the chiefe City Narbona, lying upon the River Athesis, neere the Mediterranean Sea, which Strabo witnesseth to have beene of old a famous City for trafficke. The River Rhodanus runnes through it, which falling from the Alpes, and increased by Araris, but still retaining the first name, falls into the Mediterranean Sea. This part called Narbonensis, by the benefit of the Ayre and Sunne, yeelds Figges, Grapes, Cytrons, Peaches, Pomegranates, Chessnuts, rich Wine, and all delicate fruites, and all the fields are made odoriferous by wild Rosemary, Myrtels, Palmetrees, and many sweete hearbes: and the Inhabitants have lately planted Canes of sugar. To conclude, the Province is very pleasant and plentiful in all things. On the West side of Rhodanus, the Tectosages dwelt of old in the Province called Languadoc, having that name, because the Inhabitants use Oc for the French Ouy. The chiefe Cities thereof are Narbona (aforesaid) Mompeliers (of old a famous University) & Clermont. The Dukedome of

## OF FRANCE IN GENERAL

A.D.  
1605-17.

Savoy lies in a corner, from the Alps to the mediterranean Sea, of old inhabited by the Focuntii, and it lying on the same side of the Alps with France, is reckoned a part thereof, but the Duke thereof is an absolute Prince, and the chiefe City is Chambery. The Province is very fertile, and where it is more barren, yet affoordes excellent fruites and all things for foode at a convenient price. Dolphiny lies betweene the River Rhodanus and the Dukedome of Savoy, and gives the name of Dolphin to the French Kings eldest sonne. Provence is a most sweete Territory, and hath the Cities, Marseile, (famous by trade with the Turkes), Arles, and Avignon (subject to the Pope; for when many Popes were at one time, John the two and twentieth did long sit in this City, given by Joane Queene of Naples to the Popes in the time of Clement the sixth, alienated from the Kingdome of Naples by her, and annexed to the Patrimony of Saint Peter, in the yeere 1360.) The Principalitie of Orange is an absolute dominion, having the chiefe City of the same name, and seated betweene Languedoc, Dolphiny, and the Popes Territorie of Avignon.

The ayre of the Northerne part of France is purer then that of England, and being not covered with cloudes drawne out of the Sea as England is, for that cause in winter becomes more cold, and in summer more hot, and farre lesse annoied with mists & rainy weather. But on the other side, more & lesse according to the clyme, the parts of France lying towards the Mountaines Pirenei and neerer to the Equinoctiall line, are subject to intemperate heate, yet often allaiied by the winds blowing from the Sea, and by the shaddow of the Mountaines. This Southerly part yeeldes all the fruites of Italy, and in the Northerly parts as in Normandy, they have abundance of Apple and Pearre trees, of which they make great quantity of Sider and Perry, and this part as towards the Sea it yeelds also plenty of Corne, so within Land it affoordes the like of Wines. And in the very Northerly Iland called France, they have plenty of Grapes upon pleasant hils watered

*The situation.*

[III.iii.133.]

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

with sweet Rivers, but the wine made of them is small and sharpe. All France is most pleasant, and not onely about Narbona, but in many other territories (according to the commodity of the clime), it yeelds great plenty of red and white wines exported in great quantity, which are held excellent to be drunke, the white in the morning, and the red with meate, which red is otherwise reputed unholosome, as provoking and causing rhumes. France aboundeth with all things necessary for food, as well Corne as Cattell, red Deare, Fowle, and also with all kinds of Fish, by reason it is partly compassed with the Sea, and upon all sides is watered with sweete Rivers. For fier they use wood and coales, yet have they no pit coales or sea coales, but have their sea coales out of England for their Smiths Forges, and where they have lesse store of wood within land, there they burne straw, furrer, and other kinds of stubble. They have good races of Horses, which the greater part use in the Warre, who are not able to buy Neapolitan Coursers, Spanish Janets, or English Coursers, bred of the Neapolitan Horses and English Mares: but for their journies they have no Gueldings or ambling Nagges, as wee have, but commonly use trotting and stoned Nagges.

*The fertility  
and trafficke.*

The Gentlemen doe not meddle with trafficke, either because it was of old forbidden to great Lords and Gentlemen, lest the Kings impositions should thereby suffer damage, they being by singular priviledges exempted and freed from all such burthens, or because in deed they thinke such trafficke ignoble and base, and so unfit for them, which error the French no lesse deerely buy then the English, (as I have shewed in the discourse of Italy, and shall againe prove in that of England). In generall, the French are lesse studious of Navigation or industrious in that kind, because they abound almost with all things for plentifull foode and rich attire, and if they want any thing, strangers gladly bring it to them, and exchange it for their wines, salt, and course linnen cloaths; neither have I heard or read, that they ever did any brave exploit



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by sea. They have in time of warre some few men of warre for piracy, and some few ships to export their commodities, but they saile onely to neighbour Countries, as out of Normandy and Bretaine, into England, Ireland, and the Low-Countries, and onely those of Marseile, to Tripoli in Syria. As for the Colonies which in our Age they have led into the West Indies, their unhappy successe therein, hath discouraged them from like new attempts. And whosoever sees their rich Cities within Land, witnessing that their wealth consists in native commodities, more then trading by Sea, may easily guesse, that they are not much addicted to Navigation. The French have many commodities by which they draw forraigne Coynes to them, but foure especially, Wine, Salt, Linnen course cloth, and Corne, which in that respect some call the loadestones of France. Neither is it a matter of small moment, that they have many Rivers, giving commodity to the mutuall trafficke of their Cities.

They have plenty of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof they make canvas, sayles, ropes, and cables: Neither want they wooll, whereof they make cloth, little inferiour to the English cloth, but not in quantity to be exported. Bourdeaux is a famous City for exportation of Wines, as Rochell and the neighbour Ports are no lesse for Salt. France yeeldeth Saffron, and Oade for dying, which they call Du Pastell, and many small commodities to be exported, as Cards, Pinnes, Paper, and the like: yea they export into Spaine, linnen cloathes made thinne with wearing, and sell them there for a good price. The Spaniards bring into France some quantity of wooll, raysons, Olives, Oyle, Cytrons, and other fruites, whereof France needes no great quantity, and Cochenillo for dying. The Portugals bring into France holy Thistle, (an hearbe like a white thorne, having leaves like cotten on them) and sugar, and divers kinds of Indian wood, as Fernandbuckewood, Schomache, Fustocke, and Logwood, and a smal quantity of Dates. And these carry out of France great quantity of Linnen cloth, which we call white Roanes, and greater

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

quantity of vittree Canvas, and Paper, some woollen cloth, much Corne, especially Wheate, good quantity of waxe and cardes, and the like commodities. The English bring into France great quantity of woollen cloaths, called Kersies and Cottons, Leade, Tynne, English Vitriall, or Shooemakers blacke, sheepe skinnnes, and by stealth other Hides, forbidden to be exported, great quantity of Hearnings, and new found land Fish dried, of wooll (though forbidden to be exported), Oyle, Soape tunned, Soape ashes, old worne cloakes, and (I know not to what use) very old shooes, with other native and forraigne commodities. And they bring from thence Linnen cloathes, called white Roanes, and Vitree Canvas, Paper, white and red wines in great quantity, Threed, Saffron, Waxe, and from Paris Gold and silver. The Hollanders bring into France two or three kindes of their Linnen cloathes, Copper, Feathers, and Wier, and they carry thence the foresaid Linnen cloathes, Wines, Prunes, Paper, and the above named commodities. The French carry into Italy Tinne, Lead, dry fish, called Poore John, (brought to them by the English), and their owne above named commodities. And they bring out of Italy silke cloaths, and other Italian commodities. Among the French, onely those of Marseile trafficke with the Turkes, and their greatest trade is onely at Tripoli in Syria, who carry into Turkey Spanish silver, and French Linnen cloathes, and bring from thence raw silke, spices, gals, cotton, and Indico for dying.

### *Their Diet.*

Old Writers relate that the Gals used to lie on the ground, to feed on milke and Swines flesh, and to be given to gluttony. At this day none eate lesse Bacon or dried flesh for ordinary diet, then the French, yet I cannot commend their temperance, since all, as well Men as Weomen, besides dinner and supper, use breakefasts and bevers, which they call collations and goustes, so eating foure times in the day. All France abounds with necessities for food, as well all kinds of Cattle, as fruites not inferiour in some places to those of Italy, and wild Boares,

## OF THE DIET IN FRANCE

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and Red Deare, (for they have no fallow Deare); and Birds and Fowle, and all kinds of Fish, afforded by the Sea, and their many pleasant rivers, but their Beef is neither very good, nor much used. Their Sheep are lesse then ours in England, but the flesh of them is sweete and savoury. In the Innes they have greater plenty of Partridges, and divers kinds of Birds, because the Countrey people neither doe nor may eate them, and the Gentlemen are generally sparing in their ordinary diet, so as great plenty of these dainties is brought to the chiefe Innes. Howsoever England be happy in all abundance, and hath some dainties for food proper to it selfe, as Godwits, and some other kinds of Sea Fowle, and especially fallow Deare and Brawne: Though it passeth France generally in plenty of Sea Fowles, and as well the variety as plenty of Sea fishes, yet hath it not such abundance as France hath of Land Fowle, or such as haunt the woods and fields, as Partridges, Feasants, Woodcocks, and the like, or at least by reason of the common sort not feeding thereon, and the said spare ordinary diet of the Gentlemen, France seemeth much more to abound with them, being common in all the chiefe Innes. I speake of England in generall, for in some places they so abound with us, as they beare little or no price.

*Abundance  
Land Fowle*

The French are commended and said to excell others in boyled meates, sawces, and made dishes, vulgarly called *Quelques choses*, but in my opinion the larding of their meates is not commendable, whereby they take away all variety of taste, making all meates savor of Porke; and the French alone delight in mortified meates. They use not much whitmeates, nor have I tasted there any good Butter, which our Ambassadors cause to be brought unto them out of England, and they have onely one good kinde of Cheeses called *Angelots*, pleasing more for a kind of sharpnesse in taste, then for the goodnesse. As well the Gentlemen as Citizens live more sparingly then the English in their ordinary private diet, and have not their Tables so furnished with variety and number of dishes.

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*A Marriners  
Superstition.*

They dine most with sodden and liquid meates, and sup with roasted meates, each having his severall sawce: but their Feasts are more sumptuous then ours, and consist for the most part of made fantastickall meates and sallets, and sumptuous compositions, rather then of flesh or birds. And the cookes are most esteemed, who have best invention in new made and compounded meats. And as in all things the French are chearefull and nimble, so the Italians observe that they eate or swallow their meate swiftly, and adde, that they are also slovenly at meate, but I would rather say they are negligent or carelesse, and little curious in their feeding. And to this purpose I remember an accident that happened to a Frenchman, eating with us at the Masters table in a Venetian ship governed by Greekes, and sailing from Venice to Hierusalem, who turning his foule trencher to lay meat on the cleane side, did so offend the Master and all the Marriners, as well the best as common sort, as they hardly refrained from offering him violence. For Marriners in generall, but especially the Greekes are so superstitious, as they tooke this his negligence in turning his trencher, (being of like opinion for the turning of any thing in the ship upside downe) as if it had been an ominous signe, that the ship should be cast away.

*The Innes.*

In a Village of Normandy halfe way betweene Roane and Diepe called Totes, and in like sort in all the Innes of those parts, before the civill warre, assoone as passengers lighted from their horses, the Hoast gave them water to wash, and bread and wine; for the French have not the patience to expect their supper without some refection. Then at supper the table was served with Mutton, a Capon or Pullet, Patridges and like meates, with a kind of banquet, as in Summer, Apples, Cherries, and Grapes, and in Winter, Chessenuts, Rice, Raysons, and stewed Prunes. Then they gave their guests cleane sheetes, drying them at the fier in their presence, and in the morning gave them for breakfast some buttered tostes, or morsell of meate, and for all this together with horse-

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meate, each man paid some twenty two or twenty five soulz; as likewise the bating at noone for horse and man, cost each some ten soulz. After the civill warre I passed through these parts, and commonly each meale paid twelve or fifteene soulz, with worse intertainment, and for breakefasts paid severally, but no great rate. Towards the confines of Flanders, the Hoasts onely cover the table, and a side table, upon which everie passenger hath his glasse, for the French are curious not to drinke in another mans cup, and the Hoasts are onely to bee paid for this service. Otherwise at times of eating, they call the Cookes dwelling neere the Innes, who bring the best meates they have, and when the guests have chosen their meate, and agreed for the price, they carry it backe to dresse it, and so send it warme with sawces. In generall, through the Cities of France, passengers seldome dine at their Innes, but with some companions goe to the Tavernes or Cookes shops: but at night they must eate with the Hoast that gives them beds, where they shall have cleane sheetes, and see them dried before their faces, but they are of course cloth, and very few chambers are private, but most have three or foure beds, wherein they lye not single, but for the most part with bedfellowes. Also the guests aswell Merchants and Gentlemen, as those of common sort, eate at an ordinary table, and for supper commonly large with divers roasted meates, each man payes some fifteene soulz. He that hiers a chamber in Cities, which he may have well furnished at Paris for some two Crownes a moneth, he must buy his meate at Cookes shops, which are frequent and very cleanly, neither is it any disgrace, as with us, to buy a morsell of meate there, and to agree for the price before it bee eaten. And they that hier chambers can have no better conveniency for diet, either at Paris, or in other Cities. But hee that stayer long in a Citie, may agree in a Citizens house, or an Inne for his diet and lodging by the yeere, which hee may have at Paris in extraordinary sort for some one hundred fifty Crownes yeerely, and ordinarily for lesse;

*Passengers  
must eate with  
their Hoast.*



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and at Rone for one hundred twenty, or one hundred Crownes, and in many Cities for eighty Crownes, and in many good Innes for sixty Crownes yeerely. Drunkenesse is reprochfull among the French, and the greater part drinke water mingled with wine, and alwaies French wines, not Sacke or Spanish wines (which are sold as [III.iii.136.] Phisicke onely by Apothecaries), or other forraigne Wines, whereof I remember not to have seene any in the Northerne parts of France. Yet Marriners, Souldiers and many of the common sort used to drinke Perry and Syder to very drunkennes, yea, I have seene many drink wine with like intemperance, and when these kinds of men sit at drinking, they use much mirth and singing (in which art they take great delight), as the French in generall are by nature chearefull and lively. Women for the most part, and virgins alwaies (except by stealth they offend against the custome) use to drinke water, except it be in the Provinces yeelding Perry and Syder, which all sorts use to drinke without exception. And at Paris I remember to have seene a poore woman to beg a cup of water, which being given her, she drunke it off, and went away merily, as if she had received a good almes.

### Chap. III.

Of England, touching the particular subjects of the first Chapter.

*England.*



He Longitude of England extends nine degrees and a halfe, from the meridian of thirteene degrees and a halfe to that of twenty three degrees, and the latitude extends sixe degrees, from the paralell of fifty degrees and a halfe to that of fifty sixe degrees and a halfe. Learned Camden (whom I gladly follow in this description of England) makes the circuite of all Britany to be one thousand eight hundred thirty six miles. This is the most famous Iland



## OF THE SHIRES OF ENGLAND

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of all the World, and is divided into two Kingdomes, that of England, and that of Scotland. England is subdivided into divers Counties or Shyres and Ilands.

1 In the description whereof I will first begin with *Cornwall.* Cornwall, of old inhabited by the Danmonii. It is for the most part a Mountanous Country, but the soyle is not unfertile, besides that the people incredibly fatten the same with laying upon it the owes of the Sea, called Orwood, and a certaine mud. The Sea coast (as Camden writeth, whom I follow) is beautified with very many Townes, which have much shipping. The inward parts abound with a rich vaine of Mettals, where wonderfull quantitie of most pure Tinne is digged up, and not onely Tinne, but Gold and Silver with it, and Dyamonds formed into Angles by nature it selfe, which we call Cornish Dyamonds. Eringo grows plentifully all along the Sea side, and with great labour of the Husbandman, they have such abundance of Corne, as great quantity of wheate is yeerely exported thence into Spaine. Also the inhabitants make great gaine by the fishing of Pilchards, which they salt and drie in the smoke, and export an huge multitude of them yeerely into Spaine and Italy. Here is the famous Mount Michael (of old called Dinsol, and by the inhabitants the Rock Cana.) This Rocke is somewhat high and craggy, upon the top whereof is a Chappell, dedicated to Michael the Arch-Angell. The Towne Falemouth hath a faire Haven, capeable of very many shippes, and most safe from stormes, where the Rockes doe fortifie two Castles, built by Henry the eight, and this Haven is by Ptolomy called Ostium Cenionis.

2 Devonshire likewise inhabited by the Danmonii, hath *Devonshire.* fairer Havens, being no lesse rich in the vaines of Tinne, and beautified with frequent Townes. In no part of England the ground requireth more expence, for in many places it is barren, till it bee fatted with the Owse or sand of the Sea, which makes it wonderfully fruitfull, but in the remotest parts from the Sea, this sand is dearely bought: The River Plimus gives the name to the Towne Plim-

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[III.iii.137.] mouth, of old called Sutton, which grew from a fishers Village to a faire Towne, by the commoditie of the Haven, being most safe even for great ships, as well in the said River, as in another called Tamera. Not farre from thence is the place, where they fable, that Coryneus wrestled with Gogmagog, and in this Towne was borne Sir Francis Drake Knight, the cheefe glory of our Age for Navigation, who for two yeeres space did with continual victories as it were besiege the Gulfe of Mexico, and in the yeere 1577, entring the straight of Magellan, compassed the World in two yeeres and tenne moneths, with many changes and hazards of Fortune. The Towne Dortmouth is much frequented with Merchants and strong shippes, for the commodity of the Haven, fortified with two Castles. The City Excester called Isen by Ptolomy and of olde called Monketon of the Monkes, is the cheefe City of the County, and the seate of the Bishop.

*Dorsetshire.*

3 Dorsetshire was of old inhabited by the Durotriges. The Towne Weymouth hath a Castle built by Henry the eighth, to fortifie the Haven. Dorchester is the cheefe towne of the County, but neither great nor faire.

*Sommerset.*

4 Sommersetshire was of old inhabited by the Netherlanders, and is a large and rich County, happy in the fruitfull soyle, rich Pastures, multitude of Inhabitants, and commodity of Havens. The chiefe Towne Bridgewater hath the name of the Bridge and the water. In the Iland Avallon, (so called in the Britans tongue of the Apples), which the Latins cals Glasconia, flourished the Monastery Glastenbury, of great antiquity, derived from Joseph of Arimathia. Dunstan casting out the ancient Monkes, brought thither the Benedictines of a later institution, and himselfe was the first Abbot over a great multitude of Monkes, indowed with Kingly revenewes. In the Church yard of this Monastery, they say that the great worthy of the Britans Prince Arthur hath his Sepulcher. The Episcopall little City called Wells of the Wells, or Fountaines, hath a stately Bishops Pallace. The City Bathe is famous for the medicinall Baths, whereof three

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Fountaines spring in the very City, which are wholesome for bodies nummed with ill humours, but are shut up certaine howers of the day, that no man should enter them till by their sluces they be purged of all filth. The Bishop of Welles buying this City of Henry the first, removed his Episcopall seate thither, yet still keeping the old name of Bishop of Welles, and there built a new Cathedrall Church. The City Bristowe is compassed with a double wall, and hath so faire buildings, as well publike as private houses, as next to London and Yorke, it is preferred to all other Cities of England.

5 Wilshire was also inhabited by the Belgæ or Netherlanders, and lies all within land, rich in all parts with pastures and corne. Malmesbury is a faire Towne famous for the woollen clothes. The Towne Wilton, of old the cheefe of this County, is now a little Village, beautified with the stately Pallace of the Earles of Pembroke. The City of Salisbury is made pleasant with waters running through the streetes, and is beautified with a stately Cathedrall Church, and the Colledge of the Deane and Prebends, having rich Inhabitants in so pleasant a seate, yet no way more famous then by having John Jewell a late worthy Bishop borne there. Some sixe miles from Salisbury, is a place in the fields where huge stones are erected, whereof some are eight and twenty foote high, and seven broade, standing in three rowes after the forme of a crowne, uppon which other stones are so laied acrosse, as it seemes a worke hanging in the Ayre, whereupon it is called Stoneheng vulgarly, and is reputed among Miracles, as placed there by Merlin, there being scarce any stone for ordinary building in the Territory adjoyning.

6 Hamshire of old was inhabited within Land by the Belgæ or Netherlanders, and uppon the Sea coast by the Regni. William the Norman Conquerour, made here a Forrest for Deare, destroying Towns and holy buildings for some thirty miles compasse, which ground now well inhabited, yet serving for the same use, we call New-

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[III.iii.138.] Forest. Southampton a faire little City, lies upon the Sea. Wintchester of old called Venta of the Belgæ, was a famous City in the time of the Romans, and in these daies it is well inhabited, watered with a pleasant Brooke and pleasantly seated, and hath an olde Castle; wherein there hanges against the wall a Table of a round forme vulgarly called Prince Arthurs round Table: but Camden thinkes it to have been made long after his time. It hath a Cathedrall Church, and large Bishops Pallace, and a famous Colledge founded for training up young Schollers in learning, whence many learned men have been first sent to the University, and so into the Church and Commonwealth. In the Towne or Fort of Portsmouth, lies a Garrison of souldiers, to defend those parts from the incursions of the French by Sea.

*Barkshire.* 7 Barkshire was of old inhabited by the Atrebatii. Newbery a famous Towne enriched by wollen clothes, had his beginning of the ancient Towne Spina. Windsor is famous by the Kings Castle, neither can a Kings seate bee in a more pleasant situation, which draweth the Kings often to retire thither, and Edward the third kept at one time John King of France, and David King of Scotland, captives in this Castle. The same Edward the third built here a stately Church, and dedicated it to the blessed Virgin Mary and to S. George the Capadocian, and first instituted the order of Knights, called of the Garter, as an happy omen of victory in warre (happily succeeding), who weare under the left knee a watchet Garter buckled, having this mot in the French tongue graven in letters of gold, Hony soit qui mal' y pense, and the ceremonies of this order hee instituted to be kept in this Church.

*Surry.* 8 The County of Surry was of old inhabited by the Regni. Otelands is beautified with the Kings very faire and pleasant house, as Richmond is with the Kings stately Pallace.

*Sussex.* 9 The County of Sussex, of old inhabited by the Regni, hath the faire City Chichester, and the Haven Rhie, knowne by being the most frequented passage into France.



## OF THE SHIRES OF ENGLAND

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10 The County of Kent is rich in medows Pastures & pleasant Groves, and wonderfully aboundeth with Apples and Cherries. It hath most frequent Townes, and safe Harbours for ships, and some vaines of Iron. William the Norman Conquerour, after the manner of the Romans, instituted a Warden of the five Ports, Hastings, Dover, Hith, Rumney, and Sandwiche, to which Winchelsey and Rie, the chiefe Havens, and other Townes are joyned as members, which have great priviledges, because they are tied to serve in the warres, and the Warden of them is alwaies one of the great Lords, who within his jurisdiction, hath in most things the authority of Admirall, and other rights. Detford Towne is well knowne, where the Kings ships are built and repaired, and there is a notable Armory or storehouse for the Kings Navy. Not farre from thence upon the shore, lie the broken ribs of the ship, in which Sir Francis Drake sailed round about the World, reserved for a monument of that great action. Greenewich is beautified with the Kings Pallace. Eltham another house of the Kings is not farre distant. The Towne Gravesend is a knowne Roade. The City Rochester is the seate of a Bishop, and hath a stately Cathedrall Church. Canterbury is a very ancient City, the seate of an Archbishop, who in the Hierarchy of the Roman Bishop, was stiled the Popes Legate, but the Popes authority being banished out of England, it was decreed in a Synod held the yeere 1534, that the Archbishops laying aside that title, should be called the Primates and Metrapolitanes of all England. Before the Rode of Margat lie the dangerous shelves or flats of sand, whereof the greatest is called Goodwin sand. Dover is a Port of old very commodious, but now lesse safe, onely it is more famous for the short cut to Callis in France. The Towne Rumney one of the five Portes, in our Grand-fathers time lay close upon the Sea, but now is almost two miles distant from the same.

11 Gloucestershire was of old inhabited by the Dobuni. *Gloucestershire.* William of Malmesbury writes, that this County is so



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fertile in Corne and fruites, as in some places it yeelds a hundreth measures of graine for one sowed: but Camden affirmes this to bee false. The same Writer affirmes that the very high waies are full of Appell trees, not planted, but growing by the nature of the soyle, and that the fruits so growing, are better then others planted, both in beauty, taste, and lasting, being to be kept a whole yeere from rotting. He adds, that it yeelded in his time plenty of Vines, abounding with Grapes of a pleasant taste, so as the wines made thereof were not sharpe, but almost as  
[III.iii.139.] pleasant as the French wines, which Camden thinkes probable, there being many places still called Vineyards, and attributes it rather to the Inhabitants slothfulnesse, then to the fault of the Ayre or soyle, that it yeeldes not wine at this day. Tewkesbury is a large and faire Towne, having three Bridges over three Rivers, and being famous for making of woollen cloth, for excellent mustard, and a faire Monastery, in which the Earles of Glocester have their Sepulchers. The City of Glocester is the cheefe of the County, through which the Severne runnes, and here are the famous Hils of Cotswold, upon which great flockes of sheepe doe feede, yeelding most white wooll, much esteemed of all Nations. Circester is an ancient City, the largenesse whereof in old time appeares by the ruines of the wals. The River Onse springeth in this County, which after yeeldes the name to the famous River Thames, falling into it.

*Oxfordshire.*

12 Oxfordshire also was inhabited by the Dobuni, a fertile County, the plaines whereof are bewtified with meadowes and groves, the hils with woods, and not onely it abounds with corne, but with all manner of cattle, and game for hunting and hawking, and with many Rivers full of fish. Woodstocke Towne is famous for the Kings House and large Parke, compassed with a stone wall, which is said to have been the first Parke in England, but our Progenitors were so delighted with hunting, as the Parkes are now growne infinite in number, and are thought to containe more fallow Deere, then all the

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Christian World besides. Histories affirme, that Henry the second, for his Mistris Rosamond of the Cliffords house, did build in his house here a labyrinth unpassable by any without a threed to guide them, but no ruines thereof now remaine. The Towne it selfe hath nothing to boast, but that Jeffry Chaucer the English Homer was borne there. Godstowe of old a Nunnery, is not farre distant, where Rosamond was buried. Oxford is a famous University, giving the name to the County, and was so called of the Foorde for Oxen, or of the Foorde, and the River Onse.

13 Buckinghamshire was of old inhabited by the Cattienchiani (which Camden thinks to be the Cassei), and it hath a large and pleasant towne called Ailsbury, which gives the name to the Valley adjoyning. The city Buckingham is the chiefe of the County, and the Towne of Stonystratford is well knowne for the faire Innes and stately Bridge of stone. *Buckinghamshire.*

14 Bedfordshire had the same old inhabitants, and hath the name of Bedford the chiefe Towne. *Bedfordshire.*

15 Hertfordshire had the same old inhabitants, and the chiefe Towne is Hertford. In this County is the stately house Thibaulds, for building, Gardens and Walks. Saint Albons is a pleasant Towne, full of faire Innes. *Hertfordshire.*

16 Middlesex County was of old inhabited by the Trinobants, called Mercii in the time of the Saxon Kings. In this County is the Kings stately pallace Hamptencourt, having many Courtyards compassed with sumptuous buildings. London, the seate of the Brittans Empire, and the Chamber of the Kings of England, is so famous, as it needes not bee prayed. It hath Colledges for the studie of the municiple Lawes, wherein live many young Gentlemen Students of the same. The little citie Westminster of old more then a mile distant, is now by faire buildings joyned to London, and is famous for the Church (wherein the Kings and Nobles have stately Sepulchers) and for the Courts of Justice at Westminster Hall, where the Parliaments are extraordinarily held, and ordinarily *Middlesex.*

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the Chancerie & Kings Bench, with like Courts. Also it hath the Kings stately Pallace called Whitehall, to which is joyned the Parke and house of Saint James. The Citie of London hath the sumptuous Church of Saint Paul, beautified with rich Sepulchers, and the Burse or Exchange a stately house built for the meeting of Merchants: a very sumptuous and wonderfull Bridge built over the Thames: rich shops of Gold-smiths in Cheapeside, and innumerable statelie Pallaces, whereof great part lye scattered in unfrequented lanes.

[III.iii.140.]  
*Essex.* 17 Essex County had of old the same inhabitants, and it is a large Teritorie, yeelding much Corne and Saffron, enriched by the Ocean, and with pleasant Rivers for fishing, with Groves, and many other pleasures: It hath a large Forrest for hunting, called Waltham Forrest. Chensford is a large and faire Towne, neere which is New-Hall the stately Pallace of the Ratcliffes Earles of Sussex. Colchester is a faire City, pleasantly seated, well inhabited, and beautified with fiftene Churches, which greatly flourished in the time of the Romans. Harewich is a safe Haven for ships. Saffron Walden is a faire Towne, the fields whereof yeeld plenty of Saffron, whereof it hath part of the name.

*Suffolke.* 18 The County of Suffolke was of old inhabited by the Icenii, and it is large, the soile fertile, pleasant in groves, and rich in pastures to fat Cattle, where great quantity of Cheese is made and thence exported. Saint Edmondsberry vulgarly called Berry, is a faire Towne, and so is Ipswich, having stately built Churches and houses, and a commodious Haven.

*Norfolke.* 19 The County of Norfolke had of old the same Inhabitants, and it is a large almost all Champion Countrey, very rich, and abounding with sheepe, and especially with Conies, fruitfull and most populous. The City Norwich chiefe of the County, deserves to be numbered among the chiefe Cities of England, for the riches, populousnesse, beauty of the Houses, and the faire building of the Churches. Yarmouth is a most faire

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Towne, fortified by nature and diligent Art, and hath a very faire Haven. Upon the bay which Ptolomy names, *Æstuarium Metaris*, vulgarly called the Washes, lieth the large Towne of Linne, famous for the safety of the Haven, most easie to be entred, for the concourse of Merchants and the faire buildings.

20 Cambridgeshire had of old the same Inhabitants, and consists all of open corne fields, (excepting some places yeelding Saffron), and it gives excellent Barly, of which steeped till it spring againe, they make great quantity of Mault to brew Beere, in such quantity as the Beere is much exported even into forraigne parts, and there highly esteemed. Cambridge is a famous University, seated upon the River Grant, by others called Came, of which and the Bridge over the same, it is called Cambridge. The Northerne part of this County consists of Ilands greene and pleasant in Summer, but all covered with water in the Winter, whereof the cheefe called Ely, gives the name to all the rest, called (as if they were but one Iland,) the Ile of Ely, the cheefe Towne whereof called also Ely, is famous for being the seate of a Bishop. *Cambridge-shire.*

21 Huntingdonshire had of old the same Inhabitants, the cheefe Towne whereof is Huntingdon. *Huntingdon-shire.*

22 Northamptonshire was of old inhabited by the Coritani, and is a Countrey most painefully tilled and full of Inhabitants. Northampton is the cheefe City large and walled. Peterborow is the seate of a Bishop. Neere Stamford is the stately Pallace Burleigh, built by William the first, Lord Burleigh. *Northampton-shire.*

23 Leycestershire had of old the same Inhabitants, a Champion Country and fruitfull in bearing Corne. In Lutterworth a little Towne of Trade, John Wickliffe was Pastor or Minister. Leicester the cheefe City, hath more antiquitie then beauty. *Leycester-shire.*

24 Rutlandshire had of old the same Inhabitants, and is the least County of England, and had the name of the red Earth. The Towne of Uppingham deserves no other mention, then that it is the cheefe Towne of the County. *Rutlandshire.*



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*Linconshire.*

25 Linconshire had of old the same inhabitants, and is a very large County, rich in Corne and Pastures, and abounding with Fowle and Fish, and all things necessary for foode. The great Washes of Holland when the Sea flowes are covered with water, but when it ebbes, the ground is discovered to be passed, but not without danger, and with a good guide. Lincolne the chief City, was of old one of the most populous Cities of England, and one that had greatest trade, and hath a sumptuous Cathedral Church.

*Nottinghamshire.*

26 Nottinghamshire had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe City wherof is Nottingham pleasantly seated. In the Western part is the Wood called Shirewood, feeding infinit numbers of Fallow and Red Deare, whether the Kings of old were wont to retire for hunting.

[III.iii.141.]  
*Darbyshire.*

27 Darbyshire had of old the same inhabitants, the chiefe towne whereof is Darby, faire and well inhabited, the Ayle whereof is for goodnesse proverbially preferred before that kind of drinke in any other Towne. The Western part hath high Mountaines, called Peake, yeelding Leade, which they make into Sowes, and stibium in his proper vaines is there found. Likewise there Milstones are cut out, and there is the old Castle, called the Castle in the Peake, neare which is a great hole or cave in the Mountaine gaping wide, and having many inward caves, and this hole (with reverence be it spoken) is vulgarly called, The Divels ars at Peuke, of which many fables are told, and the place is accounted among the miracles of England. The like fables are told of Elden hole not farre distant, very steepe and deepe.

*Warwickshire.*

28 Warwickshire was of old inhabited by the Cornavii; wherein is Coventry a large, faire and walled Citie, so called of the Covent of Monkes, and at this day it is the fairest City within-land, wherof the chiefe trade of old was making round caps of wooll, but the same being now very little used, the trade is decaied. Warwick is the chiefe City of the County, and neare the same upon the hill Blacklow, Peter of Gaveston was beheaded by the



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Lords of the Kingdome. Not farre thence is a transparant and pleasant, but little Wood, and there be cleare Fountaines, which place yeelds sweete solitude for the Muses, and there they report, that the famous worthy Guy of Warwick after many adventures atchieved, did first live an Heremites life, and was after death buried.

29 Worcestershire had of old the same inhabitants, which after in the time of Beda were called Wiccii, either of wic, signifying a corner or bay, or of wyches, signifying saltpits in the Saxons tongue. And there are excellent salt pits or Brookes, and new fountaines of salt are daily found. The Country is happy in the healthfull ayre, fertility of soile, and sweete Rivers, but especially yeeldeth abundance of Peares, of which they make Perry a counterfeited wine, but cold and flatuous, as all those kinds of drinke are. Worcester the chiefe City of the County was built by the Romans, and is compassed with a wall, and hath the seate of a Bishop, and a faire Cathedrall Church, with the Monuments of John King of England, and Arthur Prince of Wales. It is also beautified with many inhabitants, rich trade of wollen cloth, faire buildings, and the number of Churches. *Worcestershire.*

30 Staffordshire had of old the same inhabitants, and towards the South it hath pit-coales, and some vaines of Iron (but the greatest quantitie and best kind of pit-coales is in Nottinghamshire.) Stone is a Towne of Traffike. Lichfield is a large and faire City, so called, as the field of dead bodies, and it is beautified with the seate of a Bishop, his Pallace, and the house of the Prebends. My selfe passing that way, did reade these Epitaphes in the Cathedrall Church. The first of a Deane; *Staffordshire.*

Sic testis Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste  
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spirittus ut memoretur.

O Christ me witnesse beare, that this stone lies not  
here,  
To grace the vile body, but the soules memorie.

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And another excellent Epitaph but superstitious and I know not whose.

Quisquis eris, qui transieris, sta perlege, plora,  
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me precor ora.

Who ere thou be, that passest by, stand, reade, and houle,  
Such shalt thou be, I was like thee, pray for my soule.

Yet I remember not well, whether these were two Epitaphes, or onely one and for one man.

*Shropshire.*

31 Shropshire had of old the same inhabitants, and was a fortified and manned frontyer against the Welsh then divided from the English and their enemies, and thereupon was named the Marches. Ludlow is a Towne of more beauty then antiquity, beautified with the Pallace of the King (or rather of the Prince of Wales), and there is a Counsell or Court of Justice erected for Wales & the borders, not unlike to the French Parliaments, and instituted by Henry the eight. It consists of the President of Wales there residing, of a Secretary, an Attorney, a Solicitor, and foure Justices of the Counties of Wales, and as many Counsellors as the King shall please to appoint. In Hackstow Forrest, at the hill Stiperstons, are great heapes of stones, which the vulgar sort dreame to have been the divels bridge. Wrockceter of old the chiefe Citie built by the Romans, is now a pretty village, and from the decay therof grew the well knowne Citie Shrewesburie, now the chiefe Citie, fortified by art and nature, rich by making wollen cloth, and trading with the neighbouring Welchmen, where Henry Percy the younger with his forces, was overthrowne by Henrie the fourth.

*Cheshire.*

32 Cheshire is a great County of Gentlemen, no other County having so many Knights houses. Westchester is a faire Citie, where the twentieth Legion called victrix lay in Garison, in the time of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Most white salt is made at Nantwich, and lesse white made at Middlewich and Norwich. It is rich in Pastures, and sends great quantitie of cheeses to

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London. I know that Worcester cheeses are most esteemed, but there is not such quantitie to transport them. I know that Suffolke and the Fennes of Essex yeeld huge cheeses in great number to bee exported, but they are not so pleasing to the taste as these. I know that in all the Counties, some quantity of very good cheeses is made for private mens uses, but not in proportion to bee exported. Whereas Cheshire yeelds great quantity of very good cheeses, comparable to those of Holland, serving the greatest part of London therewith, and exporting the same into other parts. When the heyres males of this County failed, Henry the third added this large patrimony to the Crowne, so as the Kings eldest sonne should be Earle of Cheshire. And Richard the second, of a County made it a Principality, and himselfe was called Prince of Cheshire: but Henry the fourth reduced it againe to a Countie Palatine, and at this day it hath Palatine jurisdiction, administred by a Chamberlaine, a speciall Judge, two Exchequer Barons, three Serjeants at Law, a Sheriffe, an Attorney, an Escheator, &c.

33 Herefordshire was of old inhabited by the Silures, and it so much aboundeth with all things necessarie for the life of man, as it is not content in that respect to have the second place among all the Counties of England. Hereford is the chiefe Citie thereof. Lemster justly boasteth of the Sheepes wooll feeding in those grounds, with which no part of Europe can compare, excepting Apulia and Tarentum. It yeelds excellent Flax, and so good Wheate, as the bread of Lemster, and drinke of Weably (a neighbour Towne) are proverbially praised before all others. *Herefordshire.*

34 Radnoxsheire had of old the same inhabitants, and is the first County of Wales, whereof Radnox is the chiefe Towne. *The Shires of Wales.*

35 Brechnocshire the second County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne, seated in the middest thereof, where Henry the eight instituted a Collegiate Church.

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

36 Monmouthshire had of old the same inhabitants, and is so called of the chiefe Towne, no way so glorious, as in that Henry the fifth Conquerer of France was borne there. It hath also another faire Towne called Chepstow.

37 Glamorganshire the fourth County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants, and the chiefe Citie Caerdiff hath a commodious Haven.

38 Caermardenshire the fifth County of Wales, was of old inhabited by the Dimetæ, and is fruitfull in Corne, abounds in Sheepe, and in some places yeelds Pit-coale. It hath the name of the chiefe Citie, where Merlin was borne, begotten by an Incubus Devill, whom the common people tooke for a most famous Prophet.

39 Pembrookeshire the sixth County of Wales, had of old the same inhabitants. Here a long neck of land makes an Haven, called Milford haven, then which Europe hath not a more noble Haven, or more safe, or more large, with many creekes and safe roades, made more famous by the landing of H. the seventh. Pembrook is the chiefe Towne of the County. The Flemming having their Townes drowned by the Sea, had a Territorie of this County given them to inhabit by Henry the first, before Wales was subdued, and they ever remained most faithfull to the Kings of England.

40 Kardiganshire the seventh County of Wales, and had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the name of the chiefe City.

[III.iii.143.] 41 Montgomeryshire the eight County of Wales, was of old inhabited by the Ordovices, and hath the name of the chiefe Towne.

42 Merionethshire the ninth County of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, where upon the mountaines great flockes of sheepe feede, without any danger of the wolfe: for the wolves were destroied through all England, when Edgar King of England imposed the yeerely tribute of three hundreth wolves upon Luduall Prince of Wales. The little and poore towne Bala, is the cheefe of this Mountenous people.



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43 Caernarvonshire the tenth County of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, and was called Snodenforest, before Wales was reduced into Counties, so called of the mountaines, whose tops are alwaies white with snow, deserving to be named the Alps of Britany; and it is certaine that there be lakes and standing waters upon the tops of those Mountaines. The walled City Caernarvon cheefe of the County, hath a most faire Castle, built by Edward the first, wherein his sonne Edward the second was borne, and named thereof. Bangor (that is, faire Chancell) is the seate of a Bishop. Aberconway deserves the name of a strong and faire little City, rather then of a Towne, save that it is not full of Inhabitants.

44 Denbighshire the eleventh County of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, and hath the name of the cheefe Towne, well inhabited. The little Village Momglath had the name of the mines of lead, which that pleasant territory yeelds. Not far thence is the Towne Wrexham, bewtified with a most faire Tower, called the Holy Tower, and commended for the muscull Organes in the Church.

45 The little County Flintshire the twelfth of Wales, had of old the same Inhabitants, the fields whereof the first yeere after they have line fallow, yeeld more then twenty measures for one, in some places of Barly, in other places of Wheate, and generally of Rie, and after for foure or five yeeres, yeeld Oates. Holiwell (named of the sacred Fountaine) is a little Towne, where is the Fountaine of Winefrede a Christian Virgin, who being defloured by force, there was killed by the Tyrant, and this Fountaine is farre and greatly famous for the Mosse there growing of a most pleasant smell. A faire Chappell of Free stone is built upon the very Fountaine, and a little streame runnes out of it among stones, upon which a certaine bloody humour growes. The Castle Flint gave the name to the County.

46 I will omit Anglesey the thirteenth County of Wales, because it is to be described among the Ilands.

*Other Shires  
of England.*

47 Yorkshire is the farre largest County of all Eng-



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*Yorkshire.*

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

land, and was of old inhabited by the Brigantes. In the Forrest called Hatfield Chase, are great Heards of red Deare and Harts. The Townes of Sheffield and Dan-caster are well knowne, but of all other Hallifax is most famous, for the Priviledges and the rare Law, by which any one found in open theft, is without delay beheaded, and boasteth that John de sacra bosco (of the Holy Wood) who writ of the Sphere, was borne there. Wakefield is a famous Towne for making Woollen cloth. Pontfreit named of the broken bridge, is a towne fairely built, and hath a Castle as stately built as any can be named. Neere the little Village Towton are the very Pharsalian fields of England, which did never see in any other place so great Forces, and so many Nobles in Armes, as here, in the yeere 1461, when in the civill warres, the faction of Yorke in one battell killed five and thirty thousand of the Lancastrian faction. Neere the Castle Knarsborow, is the Fountaine called Droppingwell, because the waters distill by drops from the rockes, into which any wood being cast, it hath been observed, that in short space it is covered with a stony rinde, and hardens to a stone. Rippen had a most flourishing Monastery, where was the most famous needle of the Archbishop Wilfred. It was a narrow hole, by which the chastity of women was tried, the chaste easily passing through it, but others being detained and held fast, I know not by what miracle or art. Neare the little towne Burrobridge, is a place, where stand foure Pyramides, the Trophees of the Romans, but of rude workmanship. Yorke the chiefe Citie of the Brigantes, is the second of all England, and the seate of an Archbishop. The Emperour Constantius Chlorus died there, and there begat his sonne Constantine the great of his first wife Helena, whereof may be gathered, how much this seate of the Emperours flourished in those daies. By a Pall (or Archbishops cloake) sent from Pope Honorius, it was made a Metropolitan Citie over twelve Bishops in England, and al the Bishops of Scotland, but some five hundred yeeres past, all Scotland fell from this Metro-

[III.iii. 144.]

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politan seate, and it selfe hath so devoured the next Bishoprickes, as now it onely hath primacy over foure English Bishops, of Durham, of Chester, of Carlile, and the Bishop of the Ile of man. Henry the eight did here institute a Councell (as he did also in Wales) not unlike the Parliaments of France, to give arbitrary justice to the Northerne inhabitants, consisting of a President, Counsellors, as many as the King shall please to appoint, a Secretary, &c. Hull a well knowne Citie of trade, lyes upon the River Humber, where they make great gaine of the Iseland fish, called Stockfish. Upon the very tongue, called Spurnehead of the Promontory, which Ptolomy, calles Ocellum, vulgarly called Holdernesse, is a place famous by the landing of Henry the fourth. Scarborough is a famous Castle, where in the sea is great fishing of Herrings.

48 Richmondshire had of old the same inhabitants, and the Mountaines plentifully yeeld leade, pit-coales, and some brasse, upon the tops whereof stones are found, which have the figures of shelfishes and other fishes of the neighboring sea. Neare the Brookes Helbechs (as infernal), are great heards of Goates, Fallow and Red-Deare, and Harts (notable for their greatnesse, and the spreading of their hornes.) Richmond is the chiefe Citie of the County.

*Richmond-  
shire.*

49 The Bishoprick of Durham had of old the same inhabitants, and the land is very gratefull to the plower, striving to passe his labour in fruitfulnessse. It is pleasant in Meadowes, Pastures and groves, and yeelds great plenty of digged Coales, called Sea-coales. The Bishops were of old Counts Palatine, and had their royall rightes, so as Traytors goods fell to them, not to the Kings. Edward the first tooke away these priviledges, and Edward the sixth dissolved the Bishopricke, till Queene Mary restored all to the Church, which it injoyes to this day, but the Bishop in Queene Elizabeths time, challenging the goods of the Earle of Westmerland rebelling, the Parliament interposed the authority therof, and for the time

*The Bishop-  
rick of  
Durham.*

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judged those goods to be confiscated towards the Queenes charge in subduing those Rebels. Durham is the chiefe City of that County.

*Lancashire.*

50 Lancashire had of old the same inhabitants, and hath the title of a Palatinate. Manchester an old towne, faire and wel inhabited, rich in the trade of making woollen cloth, is beautified by the Market-place, the Church, and Colledge, and the clothes called Manchester Cottons are vulgarly knowne. Upon the Sea-coast they power water upon heapes of sand, till it get saltnesse, and then by seething it, make white Salt. There be some quicksands, wherein footemen are in danger to be wrecked, especially at the mouth of Cocarus. Lancaster the chiefe Towne hath the name of the River Lone. The Dukes of this County, obtained the Crowne of England, and Henrie the seventh Duke of Lancaster, united this Dutchy to the Crowne, instituting a Court of Officers to administer the same, namely, a Chauncelor of the Dutchy, an Attorney, a Receiver, a Clarke of the Court, sixe Assistants, a Pursuivant, two Auditors, twenty three Receivers, and three overseers.

*Westmerland.*

51 Westmerland had of old the same inhabitants, and Kendale the chiefe Towne well inhabited, is famous for making of woollen cloth.

*Cumberland.*

52 Cumberland had of old the same inhabitants, and hath mines of Brasse and vaines of silver, in all parts yeelding blacke leade used to draw black lines. Carleile a very ancient City is the seate of a Bishop. In this County still appeare the ruines of a wall, which the Romans built to keepe out the Pictes from making incursions, being so poore as they cared not to subdue them. And the Emperike Surgeons (that is, of experience without learning), of Scotland come yeerely to those fields of the borders, to gather hearbs, good to heale wounds, and planted there by the bordering souldiers of the Romans, the vertue of which herbs they wonderfully extoll.

*Northumber-  
land.*

53 Northumberland was of old inhabited by the Otta-

## OF THE ISLANDS OF ENGLAND

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dini, and the inhabitants of our time, now exercising themselves in warre against the Scots, now resisting their incursions upon these borders, are very warlike and excellent light Horsemen. In very many places this County yeelds great quantity of Sea coales. Newcastle is a faire and rich City, well fortified against the incursions of the bordering Scots, whence abundance of Sea coales is transported into many parts. Barwicke is the last and best fortified Towne of all Britany, in which a Garrison of Souldiers was maintained against the incursions of the Scots, till the happy Raigne of James King of England and Scotland.

(III.iii.145.)

To describe breefly the Ilands of England. In the narrow Sea into which the Severne falls, are two little Ilands 1 Fatholme, and 2 Stepholme, and the 3 Iland Barry, which gave the name to the Lord Barry in Ireland. There is also the 4 Iland Caldey, and that of 5 Lunday much more large, having a little Towne of the same name, and belonging to Devonshire.

*The Ilands  
of England.*

On the side upon Pembrookeshire, are the Ilands 6 Gresholme; 7 Stockholme, and 8 Scalmcy, yeelding grasse and wild thyme. Then Northward followes 9 Lymen, called Ramsey by the English, and Saint Davids Ilands, right over against the seate of the Bishop of Saint Davy. Next is the 10 Iland called Enhly by the Welsh Britans, and Berdsey (as the Ile of Birds) by the English, wherein they report that twenty thousand Saints lie buried.

Next lies 11 Mona, (that is the shadowed or dusky Iland) which after many yeeres being conquered by the English, was by them called Anglesey, (as the Iland of the English). It is a most noble Iland, the old seate of the Druides (Priests so called of old), and so fruitfull, as it is vulgarly called the Mother of Wales, the cheefe Towne whereof is Beaumarish. Neere that lies 12 Prestholme, (that is, the Priests Iland), whereof the Inhabitants and Neighbours make incredible reports for the multitude of Sea Fowle there breeding.

*Anglesey.*

Next followes 13 Mona or Monoeda, (as the farther



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*The Ile of  
Man.*

Mona), which we call the Ile of Man, the Inhabitants whereof are like the Irish in language and manners, but have something of the Norway men. It yeeldes abundantly Flaxe and Hempe, hath pleasant Pastures and Groves, and is fruitfull of Barly, Wheate, and especially of Oates, the people feeding on Oaten bread, in all parts are multitudes of Cattle, but it wants wood, and for fier useth a kind of Turffe. Russia which of the Castle we call Castle-Towne, is the cheefe Towne, and hath a Garrison of Souldiers; but Duglas is the most frequented and best inhabited Towne, because it hath an excellent Haven easie to be entered. In the Westerne part Balacuri is the seate of the Bishop under the primacy of the Archbishop of Yorke, and there is the Fort called the Pyle, wherein a garrison of Souldiers is kept. Upon the Southerne Promontory lies a little Iland, called the Calfe of Man, which aboundeth with Sea Birds, called Puffins, and a kind of Duckes engendered of rotten wood, which the English call Barnacles. In generall the Inhabitants have their proper Tongue and Lawes, and had their proper Coyne. They abhorre from stealing, and from begging, and are wonderfully religious generally, and most readily conforming themselves at this day to the Church of England, and the people in the Northerne part speake like Scots, and in the Southerne part like Irish. Edwin King of Northumberland, subdued the Northerne people, and subjected them to the Crowne of England, yet with many changes of Fortune, this Iland long had their owne Kings, even since the Normans conquered England, and since the time that John King of England passing into Ireland, by the way subdued this Iland about the yeere 1210, till the Kingdome came to the Scots in the yeere 1266. After that time, Mary the daughter of Reginald the last, laid claime to the Iland before the King of England, as supreme Lord of Scotland, and when shee could not prevaile, William Montague her Kinseman tooke the Iland of Man by force, which his Heire sold for a great summe of money in the yeere 1393, to William Scroope,



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who being beheaded for Treason, the Iland fell by right to Henry the fourth King of England, who assigned the same to Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland, with proviso that he and his Heires at the coronation of the Kings of England, should carry the Sword, (vulgarly called Lancaster Sword) before the King, but the same Persey being also killed in civill warre, the King gave that Iland to Stanlye, from whom discend the Earles of Darby, who kept the same, till Ferdinand Earle of Darby dying without heire male, and the Earledome falling to his Brother, but this Iland to his Daughters, as Heires generall, Queene Elizabeth thinking it unfit that Women should bee set over her Souldiers there in garrison, gave the keeping thereof to Sir Thomas Gerrard. But King James the foureteenth of August in the fifth yeere of his Raigne, granted by Letters Pattents this Iland with all things thereunto appertaining, to Henry Earle of Northampton, and Robert Earle of Salisbury, their Heires and Assignes for ever, they upon doing homage for the same, presenting his Majesty with two Falcons, and his Heires and Successours at their Coronation in like sort with two Falcons. And howsoever no use or intent of this grant be mentioned in these Letters Pattents, yet no doubt the grant was made to the use of those upon whose humble petition to his Majesty the Letters Pattents were granted, as therein is expressly declared, namely of William Lord Stanly, Earle of Darby, heire male to John Lord Stanly, and of Elizabeth Countesse of Huntington, Anne wife to the Lord Chandois, and Francis wife to Sir John Egerton Knight, being the Heires generall of the said John Lord Stanly. [III.iii.146.]

The famous River Thames fals into the German Ocean over against Zeland, and before it fals into the same, makes the (14) Iland Canvey upon the Coast of Essex, *Iland Canvey.* so low as it is often overflowed, all but some higher hils, to which the sheepe retire, being some foure thousand in number, the flesh whereof is of delicate taste, and they are milked by young men. Neere that is the (15) Iland

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Sheppey, so called of the sheepe, wherein is Quinborough a most faire Castle kept by a Constable. Without the mouth of Thames, lie the shelves or sands dangerous to Sea men, which of the greatest, are all called Goodwin sands, where they say an Iland the patrimony of the same Earle Goodwinn was devoured by the Sea in the yeere 1097.

*The Ile of  
Wight.*

In the Britan Sea lies the (16) Ile of Wight, having in the Sea most plentiful fishing, and the Land being so fruitfull as they export Corne, besides that in all parts it hath plenty of Conies, Hares, Partridges, and Feasanes, and hath also two Parkes of Fallow Deare. Also the sheepe feeding there upon the pleasant hils, yeeld wool in goodnesse next to the Fleeces of Lemster and Cotswold Flockes. It hath sixe and thirty Townes and Castles, and the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction thereof belongs to the Bishop of Wintchester. Towards the West lie other Ilands pretended to be French, but subject to England,

*Gerzey and  
Garnsey.*

namely, (17) Gerzey (whither condemned men were of old banished) & (18) Garnsey, neither so great nor so fruitfull, but having a more commodious Haven, upon which lies the Towne of Saint Peter: both Ilands burne a weede of the Sea, or Sea coales brought out of England, and both speake the French Language. I omit the seven Iles called Siadæ, and others adjoyning, and will onely adde that the Ilands lie neere Cornewall, which the Greekes called Hesperides, the English call Silly, and the Netherlanders call Sorlings, being in number some 145 more or lesse, whereof some yeeld Wheate, all abound with Conies, Cranes, Swannes, Hirnshawes, and other Sea Birdes. The greatest of them is called Saint Mary, and hath a Castle wherein Souldiers lie in Garrison, committed in our time to the keeping of Sir Francis Godolphin, and after to his sonne Sir William Godolphin, being of a noble Family in Cornewall. Also many of the said Ilands have vaines of Tynne, and from hence was Leade first carried into Greece, and the Roman Emperours banished condemned men hither, to worke in the Mines of mettall.

## OF THE FERTILITY OF ENGLAND

A.D.  
1605-17.

*The situation.*

The ayre of England is temperate, but thicke, cloudy and misty, and Cæsar witnesseth, that the cold is not so piercing in England as in France. For the Sunne draweth up the vapours of the Sea which compasseth the Iland, and distills them upon the earth in frequent showers of raine, so that frosts are somewhat rare; and howsoever Snow may often fall in the Winter time, yet in the Southerne parts (especially) it seldome lies long on the ground. Also the coole blasts of Sea winds, mittigate the heat of Summer.

By reason of this temper, Lawrell and Rosemary flourish all Winter, especially in the Southerne parts, and in Summer time England yeelds Abricots plentifully, Muske melons in good quantity, and Figges in some places, all which ripen well, and happily imitate the taste and goodnesse of the same fruites in Italy. And by the same reason all beasts bring forth their young in the open fields, even in the time of Winter; and England hath such aboundance of Apples, Peares, Cherries, and Plummes, such variety of them, and so good in all respects, as no countrie yeelds more or better, for which the Italians would gladly exchange their Citrons and Oranges. But upon the Sea coast, the winds many times blast the fruites in the very flower.

*The fertility  
and trafficke.*

[III.iii.147.]

The English are so naturally inclined to pleasure, as there is no Countrie, wherein the Gentlemen and Lords have so many and large Parkes onely reserved for the pleasure of hunting, or where all sorts of men alot so much ground about their houses for pleasure of Gardens and Orchards. The very Grapes, especially towards the South and West are of a pleasant taste, and I have said, that in some Counties, as in Glostershire, they made Wine of old, which no doubt many parts would yeeld at this day, but that the inhabitants forbear to plant Vines, aswell because they are served plentifully, and at a good rate with French wines, as for that the hilles most fit to beare Grapes, yeeld more commoditie by feeding of Sheepe and Cattell. Cæsar writes in his Commentaries, that Britany

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The English  
Beere.*

yeelds white Leade within land, and Iron upon the Sea-coasts. No doubt England hath unexhaustible vaines of both, and also of Tinne, and yeelds great quantitie of Brasse, and of Allom and Iron, and abounds with quarries of Free-stone, and Fountaines of most pure Salt; and I formerly said that it yeelds some quantity of Silver, and that the Tinne and Leade is mingled with Silver, but so, as it doth not largely quit the cost of the labour in seperating or trying it. Two Cities yeeld medicinall Baths, namely, Buxstone and Bathe, and the waters of Bathe especially, have great vertue in many diseases. England abounds with Sea-coales upon the Sea-coast, and with Pit-coales within land. But the Woods at this day are rather frequent and pleasant then vast, being exhausted for fier, and with Iron-milles, so as the quantity of wood and charcoale for fier, is much deminished, in respect of the old abundance, and in some places, as in the Fennes they burne Turffe, and the very dung of Cowes. Yet in the meane time England exports great quantity of Seacoale to forraine parts. In like sort England hath infinite quantity, as of Mettalls, so of Wooll, and of Woollen cloathes to be exported. The English Beere is famous in Netherland and lower Germany, which is made of Barley and Hops; for England yeelds plenty of Hops, howsoever they also use Flemish Hops. The Cities of lower Germany upon the sea, forbid the publike selling of English Beere, to satisfie their owne brewers, yet privately swailow it like Nectar. But in Netherland, great and incredible quantity thereof is spent. England abounds with corne, which they may transport, when a quarter (in some places containing sixe, in others eight bushels) is sold for twenty shillings, or under; and this corne not onely serves England, but also served the English Army in the civil warres of Ireland, at which time they also exported great quantity thereof into forraigne parts, and by Gods mercy England scarce once in ten yeeres needes supply of forraigne Corne, which want commonly proceeds of the covetousnesse of private men, exporting or



## OF THE FISHING OF ENGLAND

A.D.  
1605-17.

hiding it. Yet I must confesse, that daily this plenty of Corne decreaseth, by reason that private men finding greater commoditie in feeding of Sheepe and Cattell, then in the Plough, requiring the hands of many servants, can by no Law be restrained from turning corne fields into inclosed Pastures, especially since great men are the first to breake these Lawes. England abounds with all kinds of foule, aswell of the Sea, as of the land, and hath more tame Swannes swimming in the Rivers, then I did see in any other part. It hath multitudes of hurtfull birds, as Crowes, Ravens, and Kytes, and they labor not to destroy the Crowes, consuming great quantity of Corne, because they feede on wormes and other things hurting the Corne. And in great Cities it is forbidden to kill Kytes or Ravens, because they devoure the filth of the streetes. England hath very great plenty of Sea and River fish, especiallie above all other parts abundance of Oysters, Makrell, and Herrings, and the English are very industrious in fishing, though nothing comparable to the Flemmings therein.

*Foules.*

The English export into Italy great quantity of red Herrings, with gaine of two or three for one, (not to speake in this place of other commodities which they export with great gaine), and in this fishing they are very industrious, as well in the Sea upon the coasts, as in the Northerne Ilands. To conclude, they export in great quantity all kinds of salted fishes, and those dried in the smoke and pickled, as Pilchards, Poore John, Caviale, Botargo, and the like, which they sell in Italy, and those parts at a deare rate. England abounds with pulse of all kinds, and yeelds great quantitie of Saffron and of Flax, wherof they have also great quantitie from Dantzke, whence also they have like plentie of Pitch, and of Firre trees for Masts of ships, which two things if England wanted not, I durst say that this Iland (or part of an Iland) abounds with all things necessary for honest clothing, large and dainty feeding, and for warre by land and sea. As for warre, it hath not onely the aforesaid mettalls, but also great quantity of Saltpeter. Besides the famous

[III.iii.148.]

*Fishes.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Broad cloth, it yeelds for clothing many Stuffles, whereof great quantitie is also exported. And I will not omit, that howsoever it hath silke from forraigne parts, yet the English silke stockings are much to bee preferred before those of Italy, Spaine, or any part in the World.

*Cattell.*

England abounds in Cattell of all kinds, and particularly hath very great Oxen, the flesh whereof is so tender, as no meate is more desired. The Cowes are also great with large udders, yeelding plenty of Whitmeates, no part in the World yeelding greater variety, nor better of that kind. And the hides of Oxen are (contrary to the common good) exported in great quantity by unjustifiable licenses, though strictly forbidden by many Statutes. The flesh of Hogges and Swine is more savoury, then in any other parts, excepting the bacon of Westphalia, and of the Southerne Ilands, where they commonly feede on Rootes and Chesnuts. The goodnesse of the Sheepe may be conjectured by the excellency of the wooll, and wollen clothes, which Sheepe are subject to rotting, when they feede on low wet grounds, excepting the Marshes overflowed by the sea, which for the saltnesse are held very wholesome for them, and these rots often destroy whole flocks, for they seldome drinke, but are moistned by the dewes falling in the night. And the feeding of Sheepe, upon like accident of diseases, often undoes the owner in his estate, but more commonly preserved from that ill, they enrich many, so as it is proverbially said, He whose Sheepe stand, and wives die (the husbands gaining their dowries) must needs be rich.

*The Kings  
Forrests.*

The Kings Forrests have innumerable heards of Red Deare, and all parts have such plenty of Fallow Deare, as every Gentleman of five hundreth or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a Parke for them inclosed with pales of wood for two or three miles compasse. Yet this prodigall age hath so forced Gentlemen to improve their revenewes, as many of these grounds are by them disparked, and converted to feede Cattell. Lastly (without offence be it spoken) I will boldly say, that England (yea

## OF THE BEASTS OF ENGLAND

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perhaps one County thereof) hath more fallow Deare, then all Europe that I have seene. No Kingdome in the World hath so many Dove-houses.

I formerly said, that the Wolves were altogether destroyed in England and Wales, so as the Sheepe feede freely in the fields and Mountaines. England hath much more Dogges aswell for the severall kinds, as the number of each kind, then any other Territorie of like compasse in the World, not onely little Dogges for beauty, but hunting and water-Dogges, whereof the bloud-Hounds and some other have admirable qualities. It hath infinite number of Conies, whereof the skinnies (especially black and silver haired) are much prised, and in great quantity transported, especially into Turkey. The Nagges and Gueldings are singular for the Gentle ambling pace, and for strength to performe great journies. So are the hunting Horses of exceeding swiftnes, much esteemed in forraigne parts, especially in France and Scotland, and of both kinds the number is infinite. The great Horses for service, and to draw Coaches and carts, are of like number and goodnes, and one kinde for service, called the Corser (as bred of the Neapolitan Corsers and English Mares) yeelds not for bravery of race to the Neapolitan Corsers, or Spanish Gennets. I said that they are all strong, and the horses for jornies indefatigable, for the English, especially Northerne men, ride from day breake to the evening without drawing bit, neither sparing their horses nor themselves, whence is the Proverb, that England is the Hell of Horses, the Purgatory of Servants, and the Paradise of Women; because they ride Horses without measure, and use their Servants imperiously, and their Women obsequiously.

The Gentlemen disdaine trafficke, thinking it to abase Gentry: but in Italy with graver counsell, the very Princes disdaine not to be Merchants by the great, and hardly leave the retailing commodity to men of inferiour sort. And by this course they preserve the dignity and patrimony of their progenitors, suffering not the sinew

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Of the  
trafficke.*

of the Commonwealth, upon any pretence to be wrested out of their hands. On the contrary, the English and French, perhaps thinking it unjust to leave the common sort no meanes to be enriched by their industry, and judging it equall, that Gentlemen should live of their revenews, Citizens by trafficke, and the common sort by the Plough and manuell Artes, as divers members of one body, doe in this course daily sell their patrimonies, and the buyers (excepting Lawyers) are for the most part Citizens and vulgar men. And the daily feeling of this mischiefe, makes the error apparant, whether it be the prodigalitie of the Gentry (greater then in any other Nation or age), or their too charitable regard to the inferiour sort, or rashnesse or slothfulnesse, which cause them to neglect and despise traffick, which in some Commonwealths, and namely in England passeth all other commodities, and is the very sinew of the Kingdome. I have at large related in this booke treating of Poland, the English trafficke in the Baltick Sea, and treating of Germany, their trafficke with the Hans Cities, and so treating of other severall States, the English traffick with each of them, so as it were lost labour to repeate it againe. Onely for Spaine, whereof I had no cause to speake touching their trafficke with England, I will adde, that the English carry into Spaine Wollen clothes, Saffron, Wax and Corne, and bring from thence Oyle, Fruits, Sacks and sweet wines, Indian spices with Gold and Silver.

*Of the  
Shipping.*

And in generall I wil observe, that England abounds with rich commodities of their owne, and exports them with their own ships, from very Iseland and Moscovye to both the Indies, and at this day buy not so much of the Turkes as they were wont, but by long Navigation fetch Spices and like commodities from the farthest East Indies. So as the shipping of England must needs be very great in number and strength. But of Englands Navall glory, I must speake at large in the discourse of that Commonwealth. In the meane time I freely professe, that in my opinion the English Marriners are more daring then any

## OF THE DIET OF ENGLAND

A.D.  
1605-17.

other Nation, in stormes of winds, raging of Seas, and thundring of Ordinance in Navall fights. And if any stranger take me of too much boasting in this point, I desire him to consider of Martin Furbushers attempts in the frozen Sea, of Sir Francis Drakes, and Sir Thomas Candishes dangerous Navigations round about the world; and if these things shal not move him, the worst I wish him is, that in person he may experience their courage and art in a fight upon equall termes.

Cæsar in the fourth Chapter and fifth booke of his Commentaries, writes thus of the Britans dyet. *Their dyet.* It is unlawfull for them to taste Hares, Geese, or Hennes, yet they keepe them all for their pleasure, and the inward parts sow no Corne, but live upon milke and flesh. At this day the English inhabitants eat almost no flesh more commonly then Hennes, and for Geese they eat them in two seasons, when they are fatted upon the stubble, after Harvest, and when they are greene about Whitsontide, at which time they are held for dainties; and howsoever Hares are thought to nourish melancoly, yet they are eaten as Venison, both rosted and boyled. They have also great plenty of Connies, the flesh whereof is fat, tender, and much more delicate then any I have eaten in other parts, so as they are in England preferred before Hares, at which the Germans wonder, who having no Venison (the Princes keeping it proper to themselves, and the hunting of Hares being proper to the Gentlemen in most parts), they esteeme Hares as Venison, and seldom eat Connies, being there somewhat rare, and more like rosted Cats then the English Connies.

The English Husbandmen eat Barley and Rye browne bread, and preferre it to white bread as abiding longer in the stomack, and not so soone digested with their labour, [III.iii.150. but Citizens and Gentlemen eat most pure white bread, England yeelding (as I have said) all kinds of Corne in plenty. I have formerly said, that the English have abundance of Whitmeates, of all kindes of Flesh, Fowle and Fish, and of all things good for foode, and in the



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The Art of  
Cookery.*

discourse of the French dyet, I have shewed, that the English have some proper dainties, not knowne in other parts, which I will in a word repeate. The Oysters of England were of old carried as farre as Rome, being more plentifull and savorie, then in any other part. England hath aboundance of Godwits, and many Sea-fowles, which be rare, or altogether unknowne elsewhere. In the seasons of the yeere the English eate Fallow deare plentifully, as Bucks in Summer, and Does in Winter, which they bake in Pasties, and this Venison Pasty is a dainty, rarely found in any other Kingdome. Likewise Brawne is a proper meate to the English, and not knowne to others. They have strange variety of Whitmeates, and likewise of preserved banquetting stuffe, in which Preserves France onely may compare with them. It is needlesse to repeate the rest, and I should bee tedious, if I should search particularly like dainties, which the English have only, or in greater abundance then other Nations. In generall, the Art of Cookery is much esteemed in England, neither doe any sooner finde a Master, then men of that profession, and howsoever they are most esteemed, which for all kinds are most exquisite in that Art; yet the English Cookes, in comparison with other Nations, are most commended for roasted meates.

As abundance of all things makes them cheape, so riches (preferring a gluttonous appetite before Gold), and the prodigalitie of Gentlemen (who have this singular folly, to offer more then things are worth, as if it were a point of dignity to pay more then others), and lastly the great moneys of silver, and the not having small coynes or brasse monies to pay for small matters, these things (I say) in this great plenty make us poore, and greatly increase the prices of all things. Also the said abundance, and the riches vulgarly increased, and the old custome of the English, make our tables plentifully furnished, whereupon other Nations esteeme us gluttons and devourers of flesh, yet the English tables are not furnished with many dishes, all for one mans diet, but severally for many mens

## OF THE DIET OF ENGLAND

A.D.  
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apetite, and not onely prepared for the family, but for strangers and reliefe of the poore. I confesse, that in such plenty and variety of meates, everie man cannot use moderation, nor understandeth that these severall meates are not for one man, but for severall appetites, that each may take what hee likes. And I confesse, that the English custome, first to serve grosse meates, on which hunger spares not to feede, and then to serve dainties, which invite to eate without hunger, as likewise the longe sitting and discoursing at tables, which makes men unawares eate more, then the Italians can doe at their solitary tables, these things (I say) give us just cause to cry with Socrates, God deliver mee from meates, that invite to eate beyond hunger. But the Italian Sansovine is much deceived, writing, that in generall the English eate and cover the table at least foure times in the day; for howsoever those that journey, and some sickly men staying at home, may perhaps take a small breakfast, yet in generall the English eate but two meales (of dinner and supper) each day, and I could never see him that useth to eate foure times in the day. And I will professe for my selfe and other Englishmen, passing through Italy so famous for temperance, that wee often observed, that howsoever wee might have a Pullet and some flesh prepared for us, eating it with a moderate proportion of bread, the Italians at the same time, with a Charger full of hearbs for a sallet, and with rootes, and like meates of small price, would each of them eate two or three penny-worth of bread. And since all fulnesse is ill, and that of bread worst, I thinke wee were more temperate in our dyet, though eating more flesh, then they eating so much more bread then wee did. It is true that the English prepare largely for ordinarie dyet for themselves and their friendes comming by chance, and at feastes for invited friendes are so excessive in the number of dishes, as the table is not thought well furnished, except they stand one upon another. Neither use they to set drinke on the Table, for which no roome is left, but the Cuppes and Glasses are served in upon a [III.iii.151.]

*The English  
custome.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

side Table, drinke being offered to none, till they call for it. That the old English Hospitality was (I will boldly say) a meere vice, I have formerly shewed in the discourse of the Italian diet, which let him reade, who shall thinke this as dissonant from truth, as it is from the vulgar opinion.

If any stranger desire to abide long in a City or University, he may have his Table with some Citizen of the better sort, at a convenient rate, according to his quality, from ten pound to twenty pound yeerely.

*The German  
complaints.*

I have heard some Germans complaine of the English Innes, by the high way, as well for dearenesse, as for that they had onely roasted meates: But these Germans landing at Gravesend, perhaps were injured by those knaves, that flocke thither onely to deceive strangers, and use Englishmen no better, and after went from thence to London, and were there entertained by some ordinary Hosts of strangers, returning home little acquainted with English customes. But if these strangers had knowne the English tongue, or had had an honest guide in their journies, and had knowne to live at Rome after the Roman fashion, which they seldome doe, (using rather Dutch Innes and companions), surely they should have found, that the World affoords not such Innes as England hath, either for good and cheape entertainment after the Guests owne pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers, yea, even in very poore Villages, where if Curculio of Plautus, should see the thatched houses, he would fall into a fainting of his spirits, but if he should smell the variety of meates, his starveling looke would be much cheared: For assoone as a passenger comes to an Inne, the servants run to him, and one takes his Horse and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him, and gives him meate, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the Master or his Servant, to oversee them. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fier, the third puls of his bootes, and makes them cleane. Then the Host or

## OF THE INNS OF ENGLAND

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Hostesse visits him, and if he will eate with the Host, or at a common Table with others, his meale will cost him sixe pence, or in some places but foure pence, (yet this course is lesse honourable, and not used by Gentlemen): but if he will eate in his chamber, he commands what meate he will according to his appetite, and as much as he thinkes fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchin is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at Table, the Host or Hostesse will accompany him, or if they have many Guests, will at least visit him, taking it for curtesie to be bid sit downe: while he eates, if he have company especially, he shall be offred musicke, which he may freely take or refuse, and if he be solitary, the Musitians *The Innes.* will give him the good day with musicke in the morning. It is the custome and no way disgracefull to set up part of supper for his breakefast: In the evening or in the morning after breakefast, (for the common sort use not to dine, but ride from breakefast to supper time, yet coming early to the Inne for better resting of their Horses) he shall have a reckoning in writing, and if it seeme unreasonable, the Host will satisfie him, either for the due price, or by abating part, especially if the servant deceive him any way, which one of experience will soone find. Having formerly spoken of ordinary expences by the high way, aswell in the particular journall of the first Part, as in a Chapter of this Part purposely treating thereof, I will now onely adde that a Gentleman and his Man shall spend as much, as if he were accompanied with another Gentleman and his Man, and if Gentlemen will in such sort joyne together, to eate at one Table, the expences will be much deminished. Lastly, a Man cannot more freely command at home in his owne House, then hee may doe in his Inne, and at parting if he give some few pence to the Chamberlin & Ostler, they wish him a happy journey.

England hath three publike Feasts of great expence and pompous solemnity, namely the coronation of the Kings, the Feast of S. George, as well upon his day yeerely, as



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[III.iii.152.]

*Their drink-  
ing.*

at all times when any Knight of the Order  
the third when Serjants at the Law and  
Mayor of the City of London, upon  
sworne & enters his Office, keeps a  
publike shewes of great magnificence.  
the Sheriffes of the Citie, daily  
Tables, to entertaine any Gentlemen  
come to them, to the great honour  
particular passing all other Citie  
to us.

For the point of drinking, the  
drinke two or three healths to  
friends, or respected honourable  
some Gentlemen and Common  
Netherland brought in the custome  
garaussing, but this custome  
measure left. Likewise in  
houses, and with some Cap  
the vulgar sort of Citizens  
temperate drinking is used  
and better part of the  
worthy, and drunkenness  
and vulgar men onely  
how much soever it  
among strangers, but  
with which many men  
any other place or Kingdome  
And because the  
with sweetnesse,  
not of Merchants  
mixed at the filling  
the same delight  
Corands of Coriander  
persons in England  
wonder what we  
and know not  
them for dying

de Caledonii,  
as commonly they

## Chap III.

Of Scotland touching the Subjects contained in  
the first Chapter.



**T**He Longitude of Scotland extends five *Scotland.* degrees from the Meridian of sixteene degrees to that of one and twenty degrees, and the Latitude extends foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty sixe degrees and a halfe, to that of sixty degrees and a halfe. In the Geographical description wherof, I wil briefly follow the very words of Camden (as neere as I can), being an Authour without exception.

1 The Gadani of Scotland were of old next neighbours to the Ottadini of Northumberland in England, and inhabited the Countrey now called Teysidale, wherein is nothing memorable but the Monastery of Mailros. 2 In Merch, (so called as a bordering Countrey) the Castle Hume is the old possession of the Lords of Hume, neere which is Kelso the ancient dwelling of the Earles of Bothwell, which were long by inheritance Admirals of Scotland, and the Merch is mentioned in Histories for nothing more, then the valour of the said Earles. 3 Laudania of old called Pictland, shooteth out from Merch towards the Scottish narrow Sea, called the Frith, and is full of mountaines, but hath few woods. In this Countrey are these little Cities or Townes, Dunbarre, Haddington, and Musleborrow, places wherein hath beene seene the warlike vertue of the English and Scots. Somewhat lower and neere to the foresaid Frith, lies Edenborough, which Ptolomy cals Castrum Alatum, a rich City of old compassed with wals, and the seate of the Kings, whose Palace is at the East end in a vally, over which hangs a mountaine, called the Chaire of Arthur (our Britan Prince), and from this Pallace is an easie ascent to the West end, where the length of the City ends in a steepe rocke, upon which

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

is built a most strong Castle, called the Maidens Castle, the same which Ptolomy calls Alatum. This City was long under the English Saxons, and about the yeere 960, (England being invaded by the Danes) it became subject to the Scots. Leth is a mile distant, and is a most commodious Haven, upon the narrow Scottish Gulfe, vulgarly called Edenborough Frith.

[III.iii.153.] 4 Towards the West lay the Selgovæ upon another Gulfe, running betweene England and Scotland, vulgarly called Solway Frith, of the said Selgovæ, inhabiting the Countries called Eskedale, Annandale, and Nidisdale (in which is the little Towne Dunfrise.)

5 Next lay the Novantes in the Valleys, where Gallway and Whitterne (which Citie Ptolomy calls Leucopibia) are seated.

6 In the little Countrie Caricta having good pastures, is the little Towne Gergeny, which Ptolomy calles Rerigonium.

7 More inward lay the Damnii, where now Sterling, Merteth and Claidisdale are seated. Here the River Cluyde runnes by Hamelton (the seate of the Hameltons Family of English race, of which the third Earle of Arran liveth in our dayes) and after by Glasgow (the seat of an Archbishop, and a little Universitie.) Here is the Territory called Lennox, whereof the Stewards have long time been Earles, of which Family the late Kings of Scotland are descended, and namely James the sixth, who raised this Earledom to a Dukedome, giving that title to the Lord d'Aubigny, and these Daubignii serving in the French and Neapolitane warres, were honoured by the Kings of France, with addition of Buckles Or in a field Gueules, to their ancient coate of Armes, with this inscription Distantia Jungo (that is, Distant things I joyne.) Sterling, or Strivelm lyes not farre off, a little Citie of the Kings having a most strong Castle upon the brow of a steepe rocke.

8 Next these towards the North lay the Caledonii, somewhat more barbarous then the rest (as commonly they

## OF THE PEOPLES OF SCOTLAND

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are more rude towards the North), where not onely the aire is cold, but the Country wast and mountainous. And here was the Caledonian Wood, so knowne to the Roman Writers, as it was by them taken for all Britany, and the Woods thereof. At this day this Region is called by the Scots Allibawne, and by the Latines Albania, and contains the Bishoprick of Dunkeledon, and the Territory Argile (so called as neere the Irish), of which the Cambellan Family hath the title of Earles of Argile, who are the generall Justices of Scotland by right of inheritance, and Great Masters of the Kings Houshold.

9 Towards the West lay the Epidii, inhabiting a wast and Fenny Country, now called Cantire (that is, a corner of land), and next lies Assinshire.

10 Next lay the Creones, which Region is now called Strathnaern.

11 Next lay the Cornovacæ, at the Promontory Hey.

12 On the East-side of the Caledonians lay the Vernicones, in the fruitfull little Region called Fife, where is the Towne of Saint Andrew, Metropolitan of all Scotland.

13 The little Region Athol is fertile, of which the Stuards of the Family of Lorne have the title of Earles. Here is Strathbolgy the seate of the Earles of Huntly, of the Family of the Seatons, who tooke the name of Gordan by the authority of a Parliament.

14 Next lies Goury, having fruitfull fields of Wheate, whereof John Lord Rethven was of late made Earle: but Arrell in this Region, hath long given the title of Earle to the Family of Hayes.

15 under Fife lies Angush, where is Scone, famous for the Kings consecration. Montrose hath his Earles of the Family of the Grahames: but the Douglasses Earles of Angush, of an honorable Family, were made Governours by Robert the third of this Region; and these Earles are esteemed the chiefe and principall Earles of all Scotland, and it is said, that they have right to carry the Kings Crowne at the solemne assemblies of the Kingdome.

16. 17 Next lye the two Regions of Marnia and Marria



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upon the sea, where is Dunetyre, the chiefe seate of the Family of the Keythes, who by warlike vertue have deserved to be the Marshalls of the Kingdome, and Aberdene (that is the mouth of the Dene) is a famous University. And Queene Mary created John Ereskin Earle of Marre, who lately was the Regent of Scotland, and is by inheritance Sheriffe of the County of Sterling.

18 Next lay the Taizali, where now Buquhan is seated.

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19 Then towards Murrey Frith, the Vocomagi of old inhabited Rosse murray and Nesseland. 20 More innerly is the Gulfe Vararis, right over against the Towne Invernesse.

21 The Cantæ possessed the corner of land shooting towards the Sea, where is the most safe Haven Cromer. 22.23 Yet more inwardly where Bean, Rosse, and Southerland are seated, the Lugi and Mertæ of old inhabited. Thus farre Edward the first King of England subdued all with his victorious Army, having beaten the Scots on all sides. In Southerland are Mountaines of white Marble, (a very miracle in this cold clyme), but of no use, the excesse and magnificence in building having not yet reached into these remote parts. 24 Further neare Catnesse the Catni of old inhabited, the Earles of which Country, are of the ancient and Noble Families of the Sint-cleres. 25 Urdehead is thought the remotest Promontory of all Britany, where the Cornabii of old inhabited.

*The Ilands.*

26 I will in one word mention the Ilands. In the Gulfe Glotta, or Dunbritten Frith, lyes the Iland Glotta, called Arran by the Scots, giving the title to an Earle. Next that lyes Rothesia, now called Buthe, whence are the Stewards Kings of Scots, as they say. Then Hellan the Iland of the Sayntes. Without the foresaid Gulfe, many Ilands lye thicke together, vulgarly called the Western Ilands, and numbred forty foure, being of old called by some Hebrides, by others Inchades, and Leucades, and by many (as Ptolomy) Ebudæ. Ina one of these Ilands have a Monastery, famous for the buriall of the Kings of

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Scotland, and for the habitation of many holy men, among which was Columbus, the Apostle of the Picts, of whose Cell the Iland was also named Columbkil. The Scots bought all these Ilands of the Norwegians, as a great strength to the Kingdome, though yeelding very little profit; the old inhabitants (whether Scots, or Irish) being of desperate daring, and impatient of being subject to any lawes. Neare these lye the Orcades (vulgarly Orkney) about thirty in number, yeelding competent quantity of Barley, but no Wheate or trees. The chiefe whereof is Pomonia, well knowne by the Episcopall seate, and yeelding both Tynne and Leade. These Orcades Ilands were subject to the Danes, and the inhabitants speake the Gothes language, but Christiern King of the Danes sold his right to the King of Scotland. Five dayes and nights payle from the Orcades, is the Iland Thule, so often mentioned by Poets to expresse the furthest corner of the World, whereupon Virgill saith; Tibi serviet ultima Thule: that is, The furthest Thule shall thee serve. Many have thought, that Iseland was this Thule, condemned to cold ayre and perpetuall Winter: but Camden thinkes rather that Schotland is Thule, which the Marriners now call Thilensall, being subject to the King of Scotland. In the German Sea, towards the coast of Britany, are few Ilands, save onely in Edenburg Frith, where these are found, May, Basse, Keth, and Inche colme (that is, the Iland of Columbus.)

Scotland reaching so farre into the North, must needs *The situation.* be subject to excessive cold, yet the same is in some sort mitigated by the thicknesse of the cloudy aire and sea vapours. And as in the Northerne parts of England, they have small pleasantnes, goodnesse or abundance of Fruites and Flowers, so in Scotland they must have lesse, or none at all. And I remember, that comming to Barwick in the moneth of May, wee had great stormes, and felt great cold, when for two moneths before, the pleasant Spring had smiled on us at London.

On the West side of Scotland are many Woodes, *The fertility.*

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Mountaines and Lakes. On the East side towards the Sea, I passed Fife, a pleasant little Territory of open fields, without inclosures, fruitfull in Corne (as bee all the partes neare Barwick, save that they yeeld little wheate, and much Barley and Oates), and all a plaine Country, but it had no Woodes at all, onely the Gentlemens dwellings were shaddowed with some little Groves, pleasant to the view. Scotland abounds with Fish, and hath plenty of all Cattell, yet not so bigge as ours, and their Horses are full of spirit, and patient of labour, but very little, so as the Scots then would give any price for one of our English Gueldings, which notwithstanding in Queene Elizabeths time might not upon great penalty be sold unto them.

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*The trafficke.*

The Navy or shipping of Scotland, was of small strength in the memory of our Age, neither were their Marriners of great experience, but to make them more diligent Merchants, their Kings had formerly laid small or no impositions or customes on them: And while the English had warre with the Spaniards, the Scots as neutrals by carrying of English commodities into Spaine, and by having their ships for more security laden by English Merchants, grew somewhat richer and more experienced in Navigation, and had better and stronger shippes then in former time. And surely since the Scots are very daring, I cannot see why their Marriners should not bee bold and couragious, howsoever they have not hitherto made any long voyages, rather for want of riches, then for slothfulnesse or want of courage. The Inhabitants of the Western parts of Scotland, carry into Ireland and Neighbouring places, red and pickeled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquavitæ, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland Yarne and Cowes hides or Silver. The Easterne Scots, carry into France course cloathes, both linnen and woollen, which be narrow and shrinke in the wetting. They also carry thether Wooll, Skinnes of Goates, Weathers, and of Conies, and divers kindes of Fishes, taken in the Scottish Sea, and neere other Northerne Ilands, and after smoked, or otherwise dried and salted. And they bring from

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thence Salt and Wines: but the cheefe trafficke of the Scots is in foure places, namely at Camphire in Zeland, whether they carry Salt, the skinnes of Weathers, Otters, Badgers, and Martens, and bring from thence Corne. And at Burdeaux in France, whether they carry cloathes, and the same skinnes, and bring from thence Wines, Prunes, Walnuts, and Chessenuts. Thirdly, within the Balticke Sea, whether they carry the said Clothes and Skinnes, and bring thence Flaxe, Hempe, Iron, Pitch and Tarre. And lastly in England, whether they carry Linnen cloathes, Yarne, and Salt, and bring thence Wheate, Oates, Beanes, and like things.

The Scots have no Staple in any forraigne City, but trade in France upon the League of the Nations, and in Denmarke have priviledges by the affinity of the Kings, and flocke in great numbers into Poland, abounding in all things for foode, and yeelding many commodities. And in these Kingdomes they lived at this time in great multitudes, rather for the poverty of their owne Kingdome, then for any great trafficke they exercised there, dealing rather for small fardels, then for great quantities of rich wares.

Touching their diet: They ate much red Colewort and Cabbage, but little fresh meate, using to salt their Mutton and Geese, which made me more wonder, that they used to eate Beefe without salting. The Gentlemen reckon their renewes, not by rents of monie, but by chauldrons of victuals, and keepe many people in their Families, yet living most on Corne and Rootes, not spending any great quantity of flesh. *The diet.*

My self was at a Knights house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meate with their heads covered with blew caps, the Table being more then halfe furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little peece of sodden meate; And when the Table was served, the servants did sit downe with us, but the upper messe in steede of porridge, had a Pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no Art



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of Cookery, or furniture of Houshold stuffe, but rather rude neglect of both, though my selfe and my companion, sent from the Governour of Barwicke about bordering affaires, were entertained after their best manner. The Scots living then in factions, used to keepe many followers, and so consumed their revenew of victuals, living in some want of money. They vulgarly eate harth Cakes of Oates, but in Cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by Courtiers, Gentlemen, and the best sort of Citizens. When I lived at Barwicke, the Scots weekly upon the market day, obtained leave in writing of the Governour, to buy Pease and Beanes, whereof, as also of Wheate, their Merchants at this day send great quantity from London into Scotland.

[III.iii.156.] They drinke pure Wines, not with sugar as the English, yet at Feasts they put Comfits in the Wine, after the French manner, but they had not our Vinteners fraud to mixe their Wines. I did never see nor heare that they have any publike Innes with signes hanging out, but the better sort of Citizens brew Ale, their usuall drinke (which will distemper a strangers bodie); and the same Citizens will entertaine passengers upon acquaintance or entreaty. Their bedsteads were then like Cubbards in the wall, with doores to be opened and shut at pleasure, so as we climbed up to our beds. They used but one sheete, open at the sides and top, but close at the feete, and so doubled. Passengers did seeke a stable for their Horses in some other place, and did there buy hors-meat, and if perhaps the same house yeilded a stable yet the payment for the Horse did not make them have beds free as in England. I omit to speake of the Innes and expences therein, having delated the same in the Itinerary of the first Part, and a Chapter in this Part, expressly treating thereof. When passengers goe to bed, their custome was to present them with a sleeping cuppe of wine at parting. The Country people and Merchants used to drinke largely, the Gentlemen some-what more sparingly, yet the very Courtiers, at Feasts, by night meetings, and entertaining any stranger,

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used to drinke healths not without excesse, and (to speake truth without offence), the excesse of drinking was then farre greater in generall among the Scots then the English. My selfe being at the Court invited by some Gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to feare this excesse, would not promise to sup with them but upon condition that my Inviter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to invoke, being curteously entertained, and much provoked to garaussing, and so for that time avoided any great intemperance. Remembring this, and having since observed in my conversation at the English Court with the Scots of the better sort, that they spend great part of the night in drinking, not onely wine, but even beere, as my selfe will not accuse them of great intemperance, so I cannot altogether free them from the imputation of excesse, wherewith the popular voice chargeth them.

### Chap. V.

Of Ireland, touching the particular subjects of the first Chapter.



**I**reland. The Longitude of Ireland extends foure degrees from the Meridian of eleven degrees and a halfe, to that of fifteene and a halfe, and the Latitude extends also foure degrees from the Paralel of fifty foure degrees to that of fifty eight degrees. In the Geographicall description I will follow Camden as formerly.

This famous Iland in the Virginian Sea, is by olde Writers called Ierna Inverna, and Iris, by the old inhabitants Eryn, by the old Britans Yuerdhen, by the English at this day Ireland, and by the Irish Bardes at this day Banno, in which sense of the Irish word, Avicen calls it the holy Iland, besides Plutarch of old called it Ogigia, and after him Isidore named it Scotia. This Ireland

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according to the Inhabitants, is devided into two parts, the wild Irish, and the English Irish, living in the English Pale: but of the old Kingdomes five in number, it is devided into five parts.

*Mounster.*

1 The first is by the Irish called Mowne, by the English Mounster, and is subdivided into sixe Counties, of Kerry, of Limricke, of Corcke, of Tipperary, of the Holy Crosse, and of Waterford, to which the seventh County of Desmond is now added. The Gangavi a Scithean people comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland, inhabited the County of Kerry, full of woody mountaines, in which the Earles of Desmond had the dignity of Palatines, having their House in Trailes, a little Towne now almost uninhabited: Not farre thence lies Saint Mary Wic, vulgarly called Smerwicke, where the Lord Arthur Gray, being Lord Deputy, happily overthrew the aiding troopes sent to the Earle of Desmond from the Pope, and the King of Spaine. On the South side of Kerry lies the County of Desmond, of old inhabited by three kinds of people, the Luceni (being Spaniards), the Velabri (so called of their seate upon the Sea waters or Marshes), and the Iberni, called the upper Irish, inhabiting about Beerehaven & Baltimore, two Havens well known by the plentiful fishing of Herrings, and the late invasion of the Spaniards in the yeere 1601. Next to these is the County of Mac Carti More, of Irish race, whom as enemy to the Fitzgeralds Queene Elizabeth made Earle of Glencar in the yeere 1566. For of the Fitz-Geralds of the Family of the Earles of Kildare, the Earles of Desmond descended, who being by birth English, and created Earles by King Edward the third, became hatefull Rebels in our time. The third County hath the name of the City Corke, consisting almost all of one long streete, but well knowne and frequented, which is so compassed with rebellious neighbours, as they of old not daring to marry their Daughters to them, the custome grew and continues to this day, that by mutuall marriages one with another, all the Citizens are of kinne in some degree of

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Affinity. Not farre thence is Yoghall, having a safe Haven, neere which the Vicounts of Barry of English race are seated. In the fourth County of Tipperary, nothing is memorable, but that it is a Palatinate. The little Towne Holy-Crosse, in the County of the same name, hath many great priviledges. The sixth County hath the name of the City Limerike, the seate of a Bishop, wherein is a strong Castle built by King John. Not farre thence is Awne the seate of a Bishop, and the lower Ossery, giving the title of an Earle to the Butlers, and the Towne Thurles, giving them also the title of Vicount. And there is Cassiles, now a poore City, but the seate of an Archbishoppe. The seventh County hath the name of the City Waterford, which the Irish call Porthlargi, of the commodious Haven, a rich and well inhabited City, esteemed the second to Dublyn. And because the Inhabitants long faithfully helped the English in subduing Ireland, our Kings gave them excessive priviledges, but they rashly failing in their obedience, at King James his comming to the Crowne, could not in long time obtaine the confirmation of their old Charter.

2 Lemster the second part of Ireland is fertile, and yeelds plenty of Corne, and hath a most temperate mild Aire, being devided into ten Counties, of Catterlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Dublyn, Kildare, the Kings County, the Queenes County, the Counties of Longford, of Fernes and of Wickle. The Cariondi of old inhabited Caterlogh (or Carloo) County, and they also inhabited great part of Kilkenny, of upper Ossery and of Ormond, which have nothing memorable, but the Earles of Ormond, of the great Family of the Butlers, inferiour to no Earle in Ireland, (not to speake of Fitz-patric Baron of upper Ossery.) It is rediculous, which some Irish (who will be beleevd as men of credit) report of Men in these parts yeerely turned into Wolves, except the abundance of melancholy humour transports them to imagine that they are so transformed. Kilkenny giving name to the second County, is a pleasant Towne, the chiefe of the Townes,

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within Land, memorable for the civility of the Inhabitants, for the Husbandmens labour, and the pleasant Orchards. I passe over the walled Towne Thomastowne, and the ancient City Rheban, now a poore Village with a Castle, yet of old giving the title of Barronet. I passe over the Village and strong Castle of Leighlin, with the Countrey adjoyning, usurped by the Sept of the Cavanaghs, now surnamed Omores. Also I omit Rosse, of old a large City, at this day of no moment. The third County of Wexford, (called by the Irish County Reogh) was of old inhabited by the Menappii, where at the Towne called Banna, the English made their first discent into Ireland, and upon that Coast are very dangerous flats in the Sea, which they vulgarly call Grounds. The City Weshford, Weisford, or Wexford, is the cheefe of the County, not great, but deserving praise for their faithfulness towards the English, and frequently inhabited by Men of English race. The Cauci, (a Seabordering Nation of Germany), and the Menappii aforesaid, of old inhabited the territories now possessed by the Omores and Obirns. Also they inhabited the fourth County of Kildare a fruitfull soyle, having the cheefe Towne of the same name, greatlie honoured in the infancie of the Church by Saint Briges.

[III.iii.158.] King Edward the second, created the Giralds Earles of Kildare. The Eblani of old inhabited the territory of Dublin the fifth County, having a fertile soyle and rich pastures, but wanting wood, so as they burne Turffe, or Seacoale brought out of England. The City Dublyn called Divelin by the English, and Balacleigh (as seated upon hurdles) by the Irish, is the cheefe City of the Kingdome and seate of Justice, fairely built, frequently inhabited, and adorned with a strong Castle, fiftene Churches, an Episcopall seate, and a faire Colledge, (an happy foundation of an University laid in our Age), and indowed with many priviledges, but the Haven is barred and made lesse commodious by those hils of sands. The adjoyning Promontory Hoth-head, gives the title of a Barron to the Family of Saint Laurence: And towards

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the North lies Fengall, a little Territory, as it were the Garner of the Kingdome, which is environed by the Sea and great Rivers, and this situation hath defended it from the incursion of Rebels in former civill warres. I omit the Kings and Queenes Counties, (namely Ophaly and Leax) inhabited by the Oconnors and Omores, as likewise the Counties of Longford, Fernes, and Wicklo, as lesse affoording memorable things.

3 The third part of Ireland is Midia or Media, called by the English *Methr.* Methe, in our Fathers memory divided into Eastmeath and Westmeath. In Eastmeath is Drogheda, vulgarly called Tredagh, a faire and well inhabited Towne. Trym is a little Towne upon the confines of Ulster, having a stately Castle, but now much ruinated, and it is more notable for being the ancient (as it were) Barrony of the Lacies. Westmeath hath the Towne Delvin, giving the title of Baron to the English Family of the Nugents, and Westmeath is also inhabited by many great Irish Septs, as the Omaddens, the Magoghigans, Omalagh lens, and MacCoghlans, which seeme barbarous names. Shamons a great River, in a long course making many and great lakes (as the large Lake or Lough Regith), and yeeldes plentiful fishing, as doe the frequent Rivers and all the Seas of Ireland. Upon this River lies the Towne Athlon, having a very faire Bridge of stone, (the worke of Sir Henry Sidney Lord Deputy) and a strong faire Castle.

4 Connaght is the fourth part of Ireland, a fruitfull *Connaght.* Province, but having many Boggs and thicke Woods, and it is divided into sixe Countyes, of Clare, of Letrim, of Galloway, of Rosecomen, of Maio, and of Sligo. The County of Clare or Thowmond hath his Earles of Thowmond, of the Family of the Obrenes the old Kings of Connaght, and Toam is the seate of an Archbishop, onely part but the greatest of this County was called Clare of Phomas Clare Earle of Glocester. The adjoining Territory Clan Richard (the land of Richards sonnes) hath his Earles called Clanricard of the land, but being of the English Family de Burgo, vulgarly Burck, and both these

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Earles were first created by Henry the eight. In the same Territory is the Barony Atterith, belonging to the Barons of the English Family Bermingham, of old very warlike: but their posteritic have degenerated to the Irish barbarisme. The city Galway giving name to the County, lying upon the Sea, is frequently inhabited with civill people, and fairely built. The Northern part of Connaght is inhabited by these Irish Septs, O Conor, O Rorke, and Mac Diarmod. Upon the Western coast lyes the Iland Arran, famous for the fabulous long life of the inhabitants.

*Ulster.*

5 Ulster the fifth part of Ireland is a large Province, woody, fenny, in some parts fertile, in other parts barren, but in al parts greene and pleasant to behold, and exceedingly stoared with Cattell. The next part to the Pale, and to England, is divided into three Countyes, Lowth, Down, and Antrimme, the rest containes seven Counties, Monaghan, Tyrone, Armach, Colrane, Donergall, Fermanagh, and Cavan. Lowth is inhabited by English-Irish, (Down and Antrimme being contained under the same name), and the Barons thereof be of the Berminghams family, and remaine loving to the English. Monaghan was inhabited by the English family Fitzursi, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called Mac Mahon, that is, the sonnes of the Beares. I forbear to speake of Tyrone, and the Earle thereof, infamous for his Rebellion, which I have at large handled in the second part of this work. Armach is the seate of an Archbishop, and the Metropolitan City of the whole Iland, but in time of the Rebellion was altogether ruined. The other

[III.iii.159.] Countyes have not many memorable things, therefore it shall suffice to speake of them briefly. The neck of land called Lecale, is a pleasant little territory, fertile, and abounding with fish, and all things for food, and therein is Downe, at this time a ruined Towne, but the seate of a Bishop, and famous for the buriall of S. Patrick, S. Bridget, and S. Columb. The Towne of Carickfergus is well knowne by the safe Haven. The River Bann run-

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ning through the Lake Evagh into the Sea, is famous for the fishing of Salmons, the water being most cleare, wherein the Salmons much delight. The great Families (or Septs) of Ulster, are thus named, O Neale, O Donnel, (whereof the chiefe was lately created Earle of Tirconnel) O Buil, Mac Guyre, O Cane, O Dogharty, Mac Mahown, Mac Gennis, Mac Sorleigh, &c. The Lake Ern, compassed with thicke Woods, hath such plenty of fish, as the fishermen feare the breaking of their nets, rather then want of fish. Towards the North in the midst of vast woods (and as I thinke) in the County Donergall is a lake, and therein an Iland, in which is a Cave, famous for the apparition of spirits, which the inhabitants call Ellanui frugadory, that is, The Iland of Purgatory, and they call it Saint Patricks Purgatory, fabling that hee obtained of God by prayer, that the Irish seeing the paines of the damned, might more carefully avoide sinne.

The land of Ireland is uneven, mountainous, soft, watry, woody, and open to windes and flouds of raine, and so fenny, as it hath Bogges upon the very tops of Mountaines, not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to passe, and such Bogs are frequent over all Ireland. Our Marriners observe the sayling into Ireland to be more dangerous, not onely because many tides meeting, makes the sea apt to swell upon any storme, but especially because they ever find the coast of Ireland covered with mists, whereas the coast of England is commonly cleare, and to be seene farre off. The ayre of Ireland is unapt to ripen seedes, yet (as Mela witnesseth) the earth is luxurious in yeelding faire and sweete hearbs. Ireland is little troubled with thunders, lightnings, or earthquakes, yet (I know not upon what presage) in the yeere 1601, and in the moneth of November almost ended, at the siege of Kinsale, and few daies before the famous Battell, in which the Rebels were happily overthrowne, we did nightly heare and see great thundrings & lightnings, not without some astonishment what they should presage. The fields are not onely most apt to feede Cattell, but yeeld also great increase of

*The situation.*



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Corne. I wil freely say, that I observed the winters cold to be far more mild, then it is in England, so as the Irish pastures are more greene, and so likewise the gardens al winter time, but that in Summer, by reason of the cloudy ayre, and watry soyle, the heate of the Sunne hath not such power to ripen corne and fruits, so as their harvest is much later then in England. Also I observed, that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ireland, then in England, which notwithstanding is more to bee attributed to the inhabitants, then to the ayre. For Ireland being oft troubled with Rebellions, and the Rebels not only being idle themselves, but in naturall malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting up the very trees of fruits for the same cause, or else to burne them. For these reasons the inhabitants take lesse pleasure to till their grounds, or plant trees, content to live for the day in continuall feare of like mischiefes. Yet is not Ireland altogether destitute of these flowers and fruites, wherewith the County of Kilkenny seemes to abound more then any other part. And the said humility of aire and land, making the fruits for food more raw and moyst: hereupon the inhabitants and strangers are troubled with loosenes of body, the Country disease. Yet for the rawnes they have an excellent remedy by their aquavity, vulgarly called Usquebagh, which binds the belly, and drieth up moysture, more then our Aquavity, yet inflameth not so much. Also inhabitants aswell as strangers are troubled there with an ague, which they call the Irish Ague, and they who are sick thereof, upon a received custome, doe not use the helpe of the Phisitian, but give themselves to the keeping of Irish women, who starve the ague, giving the sick man no meate, who takes nothing but milke, and some vulgarly knowne remedies at their hand.

*The fertility  
and traffike.*

Ireland after much bloud spilt in the Civill warres, became lesse populous, and aswell great Lords of countries as other inferiour Gentlemen, laboured more to get new possessions for inheritance, then by husbandry and peopl-

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ing of their old lands, to increase their revenues, so as I then observed much grasse (wherewith the Iland so much abounds) to have perished without use, and either to have rotted, or in the next spring-time to bee burnt, lest it should hinder the comming of new grasse. This plenty of grasse, makes the Irish have infinite multitudes of cattle, and in the heate of the last Rebellion, the very vagabond Rebels, had great multitudes of Cowes, which they stil (like the Nomades) drove with them, whether soever themselves were driven, and fought for them as for their alters and families. By this abundance of cattle, the Irish have a frequent, though somewhat poore trafficke for their hides, the cattle being in generall very little, and onely the men and the Grey-hounds of great stature. Neither can the cattell possibly bee great, since they eat onely by day, and then are brought at evening within the Bawnes of Castles, where they stand or lye all night in a dirty yard, without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishnesse, and that little they altogether keep for their Horses. And they are thus brought in by nights for feare of theeves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for feare of Wolves, the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefes, they are so much growne in number, as sometimes in Winter nights they will come to prey in Villages, and the subburbes of Cities. The Earle of Ormond in Mounster, and the Earle of Kildare in Lemster, had each of them a small Parke inclosed for Fallow Deare, and I have not seene any other Parke in Ireland, nor have heard that they had any other at that time, yet in many Woods they have many red Deare, loosely scattered, which seeme more plentifull, because the inhabitants used not then to hunt them, but onely the Governours and Commanders had them sometimes killed with the piece. They have also about Ophalia and Wexford, and in some parts of Mounster, some Fallow Deare scattered in the Woods. Yet in the time of the warre I did never see any Venison served at the table, but onely in

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the houses of the said Earles, and of the English Commanders. Ireland hath great plenty of Birds and Fowles, but by reason of their naturall sloth, they had little delight or skill in Birding or Fowling. But Ireland hath neither singing Nightingall, nor chattering Pye, nor undermining Moule, nor blacke Crow, but onely Crowes of mingled colour, such as wee call Royston Crowes. They have such plenty of Pheasants, as I have knowne sixtie served at one feast, and abound much more with Rayles: but Patridges are somewhat rare. There be very many Eagles, and great plenty of Hares, Conies, Hawkes called Gosse-Hawkes, much esteemed with us, and also of Bees, as well in Hives at home, as in hollow trees abroad, and in caves of the earth. They abound in flocks of Sheepe, which they sheare twice in the yeere, but their wooll is course, & Merchants may not export it, forbidden by a Law made on behalfe of the poore, that they may be nourished by working it into cloth, namely, Rugs (wherof the best are made at Waterford) & mantles generally worne by men and women, and exported in great quantity. Ireland yeelds much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarne, & export the same in great quantity. And of old they had such plenty of linnen cloth, as the wild Irish used to weare 30 or 40 elles in a shirt, al gathered and wrinckled, and washed in Saffron, because they never put them off til they were worne out. Their horses called hobbies, are much commended for their ambling pace & beuty: but Ireland yeelds few horses good for service in war, and the said hobbies are much inferior to our geldings in strength to endure long journies, & being bred in the fenny soft ground of Ireland, are soone lamed when they are brought into England. The hawkes of Ireland called Goss-hawkes, are (as I said) much esteemed in England, and they are sought out by mony & all meanes to be transported thither. Ireland yeelds excellent Marble neere Dublin, Killkenny, and Corke; and I am of their opinion, who dare venture all they are worth, that the Mountaines would yeeld abundance of Mettals, if this publike good

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were not hindred by the inhabitants barbarousnes, making them apt to seditions, and so unwilling to enrich their Prince & Country, and by their slothfulnesse, which is so singular, as they hold it basenesse to labour, and by their poverty, not able to beare the charge of such workes, besides, that the wiser sort think their poverty best for publike good, making them peaceable, as nothing makes them sooner kick against authoritie then riches. Ireland hath in all parts pleasant Rivers, safe and long Havens, and no lesse frequent Lakes of great circuit, yeelding great plenty of fish. And the sea on all sides yeelds like plentie of excellent fish, as Salmonds, Oysters (which are preferred before the English,) and shel-fishes, with all other kinds of Sea-fish. So as the Irish might in all parts have abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fisher men were not so possessed with the naturall fault of slothfulnesse, as no hope of gaine, scarcely the feare of authoritie can in many places make them come out of their houses, and put to sea. Hence it is, that in many places they use Scots for Fisher-men, and they together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants sluggishnesse. And no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing, they might export salted and dried fish with great gaine. In time of peace the Irish transport good quantity of Corne; yet they may not transport it without license, lest upon any sudden rebellion, the Kings forces and his good subjects should want Corne. Ulster and the Western parts of Mounster yeeld vast woods, in which the Rebels cutting up trees, and casting them on heapes, used to stop the passages, and therein, as also upon fenny & Boggy places, to fight with the English. But I confesse my selfe to have been deceived in the common fame, that all Ireland is woody, having found in my long journey from Armah to Kinsale, few or no woods by the way, excepting the great Woods of Ophalia, and some low shrubby places, which they call Glinnes. Also I did observe many boggy and fenny places, whereof great part might be dried by good and painefull husbandry. I may not omit the opinion commonly

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received, that the earth of Ireland will not suffer a Snake or venomous beast to live, and that the Irish wood transported for building, is free of Spiders and their webs. My selfe have seene some (but very few) Spiders, which the inhabitants deny to have any poyson: but I have heard some English of good credit affirme by experience the contrary. The Irish having in most parts great Woods or low shrubs and thickets, doe use the same for fier, but in other parts they burne Turfe, and Sea coales brought out of England. They export great quantity of wood to make barrels, called Pipe-staves, and make great gaine thereby. They are not permitted to build great ships for warre, but they have small ships in some sort armed to resist Pirats, for transporting of commodities into Spaine and France, yet no great number of them. Therefore since the Irish have small skill in Navigation, as I cannot praise them for this Art, so I am confident, that the Nation being bold and warlike, would no doubt prove brave Sea-men, if they shall practise Navigation, and could possibly bee industrious therein. I freely professe, that Ireland in generall would yeeld abundance of all things to civill and industrious inhabitants. And when it lay wasted by the late Rebellion, I did see it after the comming of the Lord Montjoy daily more and more to flourish, and in short time after the Rebellion appeased, like the new Spring to put on the wonted beauty.

*The dyet.* Touching the Irish dyet, Some Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen of the English-Irish, and all the English there abiding, having competent meanes, use the English dyet, but some more, some lesse cleanly, few or none curiously, and no doubt they have as great and for their part greater plenty then the English, of flesh, fowle, fish, and all things for food, if they will use like Art of Cookery. Alwaies I except the Fruits, Venison, and some dainties proper to England, and rare in Ireland. And we must conceive, that Venison and Fowle seeme to be more plentiful in Ireland, because they neither so generally affect dainty foode, nor so diligently search it as the English do. Many

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of the English-Irish, have by little and little been infected with the Irish filthinesse, and that in the very cities, excepting Dublyn, and some of the better sort in Waterford, where the English continually lodging in their houses, they more retaine the English diet. The English-Irish after our manner serve to the table joynts of flesh cut after our fashion, with Geese, Pullets, Pigges and like rosted meats, but their ordinary food for the common sort is of Whitmeates, and they eate cakes of oates for bread, and drinke not English Beere made of Mault and Hops, but Ale. At Corck I have seene with these eyes, young maides starke naked grinding of Corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof, and striking of into the tub of meale, such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighes and more unseemely parts.

And for the cheese or butter commonly made by the English Irish, an English man would not touch it with his lippes, though hee were halfe starved; yet many English inhabitants make very good of both kindes. In Cities they have such bread as ours, but of a sharpe savour, and some mingled with Annisseeds, and baked like cakes, and that onely in the houses of the better sort. [III.iii.162.]

At Dublyn and in some other Cities, they have taverns, wherein Spanish and French Wines are sold, but more commonly the Merchants sell them by pintes and quartes in their owne Cellers. The Irish Aquavitæ, vulgarly called Usquebagh, is held the best in the World of that kind; which is made also in England, but nothing so good as that which is brought out of Ireland. And the Usquebagh is preferred before our Aquavitæ, because the mingling of Raysons, Fennell seede, and other things, mitigating the heate, and making the taste pleasant, makes it lesse inflame, and yet refresh the weake stomake with moderate heate, and a good relish. These Drinkes the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women use excesse therein. And since I have in part seene, and often heard from others experience, that some Gentlewomen were so

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free in this excesse, as they would kneeling upon the knee, and otherwise garausse health after health with men; not to speake of the wives of Irish Lords, or to referre it to the due place, who often drinke till they be drunken, or at least till they voide urine in full assemblies of men, I cannot (though unwilling) but note the Irish women more specially with this fault, which I have observed in no other part to be a woman's vice, but onely in Bohemia: Yet so as accusing them, I meane not to excuse the men, and will also confesse that I have seene Virgins, as well Gentlewomen as Citizens, commanded by their mothers to retyre, after they had in curtesie pledged one or two healths. In Cities passengers may have featherbeds, soft and good, but most commonly lowsie, especially in the high waies; whether that came by their being forced to lodge common souldiers, or from the nastie filthinesse of the nation in generall. For even in the best Citie, as at Corck, I have observed that my owne & other English mens chambers hyred of the Citizens, were scarce swept once in the week, & the dust then laid in a corner, was perhaps cast out once in a month or two. I did never see any publike Innes with signes hanged out, among the English or English-Irish; but the Officers of Cities and Villages appoint lodgings to the passengers, and perhaps in each Citie, they shall find one or two houses, where they will dresse meate, and these be commonly houses of Englishmen, seldome of the Irish: so as these houses having no signes hung out, a passenger cannot challenge right to be intertaind in them, but must have it of courtesie, and by intreaty.

The wild and (as I may say) meere Irish, inhabiting many and large Provinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an handfull of straw, and straine their milke taken from the Cow through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleanest, and so clense, or rather more defile the pot and milke. They devoure great morsels of beefe unsalted, and they eat commonly Swines flesh, seldom

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mutton, and all these pieces of flesh, as also the intralles of beasts unwashed, they seeth in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw Cowes hide, and so set over the fier, and therewith swallow whole lumps of filthy butter. Yea (which is more contrary to nature) they will feede on Horses dying of themselves, not only upon small want of flesh, but even for pleasure. For I remember an accident in the Army, when the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, riding to take the ayre out of the Campe, found the buttocks of dead Horses cut off, and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed them, commanded the men to bee searched out, among whom a common souldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the meere Irish, being brought to the Lord Deputy, and asked why hee had eaten the flesh of dead Horses, thus freely answered, Your Lordship may please to eate Pheasant and Patridge, and much good doe it you that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawfull for me without offence, to eate this flesh that likes me better then Beefe. Whereupon the Lord Deputy perceiving himself to be deceived, & further understanding that he had received his ordinary victuals (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gave the souldier a piece of gold to drinke in Usquebagh for better digestion, and so dismissed him.

The foresaid wilde Irish doe not thresh their Oates, but burne them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eate this bread, much lesse any better kind, especially in the time of warre, whereof a Bohemian Baron complained, who having seene the Courts of England and Scotland, would needes out of his curiosity returne through Ireland in the heate of the Rebellion; and having letters from the King of Scots to the Irish Lords then in Rebellion, first landed among them, in the furthest North, where for eight dayes space hee had found no bread, not so much as a cake of Oates, till he came to eate with the Earle of Tyrone, and after obtaining the



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Lord Deputies Passe to come into our Army, related this their want of bread to us for a miracle, who nothing wondred thereat. Yea, the wilde Irish in time of greatest peace impute covetousnesse and base birth to him, that hath any Corne after Christmas, as if it were a point of Nobility to consume all within those Festivall dayes. They willingly eate the hearb Schamrock, being of a sharpe taste, which as they runne and are chased to an fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches.

Neither have they any Beere made of Malt and Hoppes, nor yet any Ale, no, not the chiefe Lords, except it be very rarely: but they drinke Milke like Nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fier, or else Beeffe-broath mingled with milke: but when they come to any Market Towne, to sell a Cow or a Horse, they never returne home, till they have drunke the price in Spanish Wine (which they call the King of Spaines Daughter), or in Irish Usqueboagh, and till they have out-slept two or three daies drunkennesse. And not onely the common sort, but even the Lords and their wives, the more they want this drinke at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunke as beggers.

Many of these wilde Irish eate no flesh, but that which dyes of disease or otherwise of it selfe, neither can it scape them for stinking. They desire no broath, nor have any use of a spoone. They can neither seeth Artichokes, nor eate them when they are sodden. It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage Horses falling into their hands, when they found Sope and Starch, carried for the use of our Laundresses, they thinking them to bee some dainty meates, did eate them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth, cursed bitterly the gluttony of us English churles, for so they terme us. They feede most on Whitmeates, and esteeme for a great daintie sower curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe. And for this cause they watchfully keepe their Cowes, and fight for them as for religion and life; and when they are almost starved, yet they will not kill a Cow, except it bee old,

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and yeeld no Milke. Yet will they upon hunger in time of warre open a vaine of the Cow, and drinke the bloud, but in no case kill or much weaken it. A man would thinke these men to bee Scythians, who let their Horses bloud under the eares, and for nourishment drinke their bloud, and indeed (as I have formerly said), some of the Irish are of the race of Scythians, comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland. The wild Irish (as I said) seldome kill a Cow to eate, and if perhaps they kill one for that purpose, they distribute it all to be devoured at one time; for they approve not the orderly eating at meales, but so they may eate enough when they are hungry, they care not to fast long. And I have knowne some of these Irish footemen serving in England, (where they are nothing lesse then sparing in the foode of their Families), to lay meate aside for many meales, to devour it all at one time.

These wilde Irish assoone as their Cowes have calved, take the Calves from them, and thereof feede some with Milke to reare for breede, some of the rest they fley, and seeth them in a filthy poke, and so eate them, being nothing but froth, and send them for a present one to another: but the greatest part of these Calves they cast out to bee eaten by Crowes and Woolves, that themselves may have more abundance of Milke. And the Calves being taken away, the Cowes are so mad among them, as they will give no Milke till the skinne of the Calfe bee stuffed and set before them, that they may smell the odor of their owne bellies. Yea when these Cowes thus madly denie their milke, the women wash their hands in Cowes dung, and so gently stroke their dugges, yea, put their hands into the cowes taile, and with their mouthes blow into their tailes, that with this maner (as it were) of inchantment, they may draw milk from them. Yea, these Cowes seeme as rebellious to their owners, as the people are to their Kings, for many times they will not be milked but of some one old woman only, and of no other. These wild Irish never set any candles upon tables; What do I

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speake of Tables? since indeede they have no tables, but set their meate upon a bundle of grasse, and use the same Grasse for napkins to wipe their hands. But I meane that they doe not set candles upon any high place to give light to the house, but place a great candle made of reedes and butter upon the floure in the midst of a great roome. And in like sort the chiefe men in their houses make fiers in the midst of the roome, the smoake whereof goeth out at a hole in the top thereof. An Italian Frier comming of old into Ireland, and seeing at Armach this their diet and nakednesse of the women (whereof I shall speake in the next booke of this Part, and the second Chapter thereof) is said to have cried out,

*Civitas Armachana, Civitas vana,  
Carnes crudæ, mulieres nudæ.*

Vaine Armach City, I did thee pity,  
Thy meates rawnes, and womens nakednesse.

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much lesse fetherbeds and sheetes, who like the Nomades removing their dwellings, according to the commodity of pastures for their Cowes, sleepe under the Canopy of heaven, or in a poore house of clay, or in a cabbिन made of the boughes of trees, and covered with turffe, for such are the dwellings of the very Lords among them. And in such places, they make a fier in the midst of the roome, and round about it they sleepe upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fier, with their feete towards it. And their bodies being naked, they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantels, which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they finde that when their bodies have once warmed the wet mantels, the smoake of them keepe their bodies in temperate heate all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not onely the meere Irish Lords, and their followers use, but even some of the English Irish Lords and their followers, when after the old but tyranicall and prohibited manner

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vulgarly called Coshering, they goe (as it were) on progresse, to live upon their tenants, til they have consumed al the victuals that the poore men have or can get. To conclude, not onely in lodging passengers, not at all or most rudely, but even in their inhospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much unlike to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing that way, might perhaps finde meate, but not without danger to be ill intertained, perhaps devoured of his insatiable Host.

[The fourth Booke



## THE FOURTH BOOKE.

## Chap. I.

Of the Germans, Bohemians, Sweitzers, Netherlanders, Danes, Polonians and Italians apparrell.



Ne thing in generall must bee remembred touching the divers apparrell of divers Nations: That it is daily subject to change, as each Commonwealth by little and little declines from the best constitution to the worst, and old manners are daily more and more corrupted with new vices, or as each Common-wealth is by due remedies purged and reformed.

*Germany.* The most rich among the Germans (as old Writers doe witnesse) used of old straight apparrell, expressing to life the lineaments of the whole body (which kind of apparel the Schwaben or Suevi use at this day), and the women were apparrelled as men (of which wicked custome we find at this day no remainder, except the souldiers wives following the Campe may perhaps somewhat offend that way.) They adde that the Suevi (under which name the Romanes comprehended all the Germanes) used of old to be clad in skinnes. No doubt the Germanes, as they ever were, so are at this day, in their apparrell, constant, and modest (and I had almost said slovenly.) Surely if a man observe the time they spend in brushing their apparrell, and taking out the least spots, aswell at home, as abroad

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when they come to their Innes, they will seeme cleanly, but if we behold their apparrell, so worne to prooffe, as the nap of the cloth, and that somewhat course, being worne off, the ground plainly appeares, and spotted with grease and wearing, especially the sleeves, which they weare large, and at table not without cause, lift up with one hand, while they take meate with the other, lest they should fall into the dish, no doubt (without offence be it spoken), they are somewhat slovenly. And for this imputation of old laid on the Germans, I appeale to Tacitus, writing to this purpose in the Latin tongue. The slovenly and naked Germans live in the same house among the same beasts. And he that at this day lookes upon their Schwartz Reytern (that is, Blacke Horsemen) must confesse, that to make their horses and boates shine, they make themselves as black as Collyers. These Horsemen weare blacke clothes, and poore though they be, yet spend no small time in brushing them. The most of them have black Horses, which while they painefully dresse, and (as I said) delight to have their boots and shoos shine with blacking stuffe, their hands and faces become black, and thereof they have their foresaid name. Yea, I have heard Germans say, that they do thus make themselves al black, to seeme more terrible to their enemies. I have often heard their Preachers declame against the common inconstancie in apparrel: but they do herein according to the art of jesting, which is ever most pleasing, when it taskes men with vices whereof they are not guilty, but never with those that may be truly imputed. For Drunkennesse, the famous, yet almost sole vice of the Germans, is in the meane time silently passed over by them in their Pulpits, or else out of a guilty conscience slightly reprov'd.

No doubt the Germans are of all other famous and great Nations least expencefull in apparrell, whether a man consider the small prices of the garments, or their long lasting. By an Imperiall Law, Husbandmen are forbidden to weare any stufes, that cost more then halfe a Gulden the ell, and

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men that live by their Art and Hand, are forbidden to weare any thing that costs more then the third part of a Gulden the ell, and servants to weare any ornament of Gold, Silver, or Silke, and gentlemen to weare any Gold, or more then two ounces of silver, and Doctors of the Civill Law, (who have many priviledges from the Heraulds, and are much respected in Germany), and likewise Knights, not to weare more then two ounces of gold upon their Apparrell, and lastly Citizens are permitted to face their garments with silke or velvet, but are forbidden to weare any gold or silver. By the same Imperiall Statutes enacted in the yeere 1548, Noble women, (that is Gentlewomen), are permitted to weare a chaine of gold worth two hundred Guldens, and ornaments of the head worth forty Guldens, and the Doctours of the Civill Law are permitted to weare like chaines, and their wives have the same priviledge with Noblewomen. In the Statutes of the yeere 1530 Citizens Wives are permitted to weare gold chaines of fifty Guldens, and silver girdles of thirty Guldens, and their Daughters to weare Ornaments of ten Guldens uppon their heads. And these Lawes are wisely made to restraine that Nation, though by nature and custome most modest in Apparrell, because the richest things they are to weare, be not made in the Empire, but to be bought with money. They have not so much as woollen or linnen cloth of their owne, but such as is course, which makes them that weare silke or velvet, as well as others, weare shirts of course cloth. I did see Rodolpus the Emperour when he mourned for his sister, apparrelled in English blacke cloth, who otherwise used to weare for the most part the same cloth of a watchet or some light colour, seldome wearing any richer Apparrell, and the scabbard of his sword was of leather, not of velvet, as we use. The men in Germany weare shirt bands of course linnen short and thicke, onely in Prussia I observed them to weare long ruffes, with rebatoes of wire to beare them up, such as our women use, which seemed to me lesse comely, because they were seldome made of fine cloth, as

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cambricke or lawne, but of their owne course linnen, such as I have often seene the Spaniards to weare.

Their handkerchers are very large, and wrought with silke of divers light colours, with great letters signifying words, as for example D. H. I. M. T. signifying *Der her Ist mein Trost*, that is; The Lord is my comfort, so as they seeme more like wrought saddle clothes, then handkerchers. Many of the Saxons weare thrummed hats, which are called Brunswicke hats, as most used in those parts, being so stiffe as a sword will hardly pierce them, especially with the brasse hatbands they weare about them, and being so heavie as they lie upon the eares, and make them hang downe with small comelinesse. Few weare feathers in their hats, yet the Doctors of the Civill Law have the priviledge to weare them, and my selfe have seene many Students in the Universities, and most Coachmen of Germany, weare feathers costing each some twelve or sixteene batzen. The mention of the said shirt bands, used in Prussia, makes me remember that the Citizens of Dantzke, seated in that Province, doe generally weare more rich Apparell, then any other Germans. And I remember that their said shirt bands or ruffles were little lesse then a quarter of an ell long, and hung upon their shoulders, notwithstanding they had staies to beare them up, which madde fashion, but not so long, the English used of old, and have long since laid aside. The men in these parts commonly weare silkes and velvets, without any decent distinction of degrees, and the women seemed much prouder in apparrell then the men. I have seene married women not of the richest sort, daily weare hats of velvet, though some weare also felt hats, and others to weare frontlets of velvet, and others wearing hats, had their hatbands all set with pearle, and many of their Daughters did weare chaines of pearle, worth three hundred guldens, yea some of these Virgins have shewed me their chaines of five hundred guldens value, being the Daughters of Citizens and Merchants. As well married as unmarried women in the chiefe Cities of that Province,



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did weare short cloakes, and for the greater part of silke or satten, (the use whereof is vulgar among them), and that of changeable or light colours, with Petticoates and Aprons of like colours, but not so frequently of silke; and I have seene Virgines of ordinary rancke in those Cities, daily weare silke stockings.

But I return to the generall discourse of the Germans Apparrell. Citizens and men of inferiour rancke, weare course cloth of Germany, and onely the richer sort use English cloth; and this cloth is commonly of a blacke or darke colour, and they thinke themselves very fine, if their cloakes have a narrow facing of silke or velvet. The Gentlemen delight in light colours, and when I perswaded a familiar friend that blacke and darke colours were more comely, he answered me, that the variety of colours shewed the variety of Gods workes: And the Gentlemen weare Italian silkes and velvets of these colours, but most commonly English cloth, for the most part of yellow or greene colour. The Saxons in stead of Swords, carry Hatchets in their hands, being very skilfull in the use of them, so as they will hit any small marke therewith, and they weare hanging daggers with massy sheaths of silver or iron. The Gentlemen, and others that have the priviledge to weare Swords, as the Doctors of Civill Law, have plaine pommels to them, never gilded; and the scabbards (not excepting the Emperour) are alwaies of leather. Many of the Germans in steede of hats, weare caps lined with furre, and they use large stomachers of furre or lambeskinnes, keeping their stomackes very warme, either for the coldnesse of the clime, or rather because their stomackes need more cherrishing, in regard they are often oppressed with excesse in drinking. Most of them weare great large breeches, excepting the Suevi (vulgarly Schawben) who weare such straight breeches as our old men use, with stockings of the same cloth, fastened to them: And generally their doublets are made straight to the body, upon which in Winter time they weare Jerkins lined with furre.

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Few men or women weare gold rings, pearles, or Jewels: but Bohemia yeelds false stones like the orientall precious stones, yet of small or no value, and I have seene some Gentlemen weare these false stones, and brasse rings guilded over, the wearing whereof is held disgracefull with us. At Magdeburg I did see a young Gentleman having all his fingers loaded with rings, which I thought to be of gold, till my selfe sawe him buy a ring of three hoopes for some fiftene pence in English money, and so found his foolish pride. The Statutes (as I formerly said) permit Noblewomen (that is Gentlewomen) to weare chaines of gold, which notwithstanding they weare very seldome: And in like sort their Earles, (vulgarly called Graves) and their Knights, sometimes weare gold chaines, made of extraordinary great linkes, and not going more then once about the necke, nor hanging downe further then the middle button of the doublet. The Germans in great part measure a strangers dignity by the richnesse of his Apparrell, and by his grave or (to speake plainely) proud looke. Citizens Wives in some places weare upon their heads little caps in the forme of an Oyster-shell, and they weare short cloakes, reaching no further then their elbows. Citizens daughters and Virgines of inferiour sort, weare nothing upon their heads, but their haire woven with laces, and so gathered on the fore-part of the head, with the forehead stroked up plaine, and upon the fore-part of the head the Gentlewomen weare a border of pearle, and all other from the highest to the lowest, commonly weare garlands of roses, (which they call Crantzies.)

For they keepe Roses all Winter in little pots of earth, whereof they open one each saturday at night, and distribute the Roses among the women of the house, to the very kitchin maide; others keepe them all in one pot, and weekly take as many Roses as they neede, and cover the rest, keeping them fresh till the next Summer. And the common sort mingle guilded nutmegs with these Roses, and make garlands thereof: Only women weare these

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Garlands in Winter, but in Summer time men of the better sort weare them within doores, and men of the common sort weare them going abroade. They keepe Roses all Winter in this sort, they choose the closest and thickest buds of all kinds of Roses, but the Damaske Roses best keepe the smell, and other kindes the colour. Then they take a pot of earth, and sprinckle some bay salt in the bottome, and lay these buds severally, not very close one to the other, in two rowes one above the other, which done they sprinckle the same, and wet all the buds with two little glasses of Rhenish Wine, and againe sprinckle them with bay salt in greater quantity, yet such as it may not eate the leaves. In like sort they put up each two rowes of buds, till the pot be full, which they cover with wood or leade, so as no aire can enter, and then lay it up in a cold cellar, where no sunne comes. When they take out the buds, they dip them in luke warme water, or put them into the Oven when the bread is taken out, which makes the leaves open with the turning of the buds betweene two fingers, then they dip a feather in rhenish wine, and wipe the leaves therewith, to refresh the colour, and some doe the like with rose water, to renew the smell. Give me leave by the way to relate, (though out of due course), that I observed women at Leipzig, in like sort to keepe Cherries all Winter, after this manner. They inclose some Cherries in a glasse, so as no aire can enter, and then fasten the glasse to some low shrub or bough of a tree, so as the glasse may hang in a brooke, running gently.

Now I returne to my former discourse. Many of the said Virgines have their neckbands set with spangles, such as some children with us weare. The married women weare their gownes close about the breast and neck, with a very short ruffe about their neckes, (such as men also weare) set with poking stickes as small as reedes, and they weare little hats upon their heads. The Virgines in generall, weare linnen sleeves about their armes, as close as they can be made, for they esteeme it the greatest grace

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to have the smallest armes, and their petticoates are guarded with some ten or more fringes or laces of silke or velvet, each fringe being of a different colour one from the other, making the skirts thereof as variable in colour as the Raine-bow. Citizens wives put off their ruffles when they goe out of the house, covering their neckes and mouths with a linnen cloth for feare of cold. And they weare great heavy purses by their sides, with great bunches of keyes hanging by chaines of brasse or silver: and all generally, aswell married women as Virgins, goe with bare legges: and I have seene a Virgine in Saxony, refuse a paire of silke stockings offered her of guift: and the maide servants and married women of the inferiour sort weare no shooes except they goe out of the house, and great part goe also abroade bare footed. The married women hide their naked feete with long gownes, but the maide servants wearing short gownes, and girding them up into a roule some handfull under the wast about their hippes, (especially in the lower parts of Germany), many times offend chast eyes with shewing their nakednesse, especially when they stoope for any thing to the ground. And in those parts of Germany the Citizens wives, like our little children, weare red and yellow shooes, and gilded at the toes. In generall, it is disgracefull to married women or Virgins (excepting at Augsburg, and some few other Cities), to goe out of doores without a cloake, which commonly is of some light stuffe, as Grogram, or the like, faced with some furies, and at Hidelberg they never goe abroade without a little basket in their hands, as if they went to buy something, except they will be reputed dishonest. The married Women alwaies have their heads covered, in some Cities with a peece of velvet, other where with little caps of velvet, silke, or felt, or with some like fashion, according to the use of the Countrey. And very many weare such crosse-clothes or forehead clothes as our Women use when they are sicke. In many places the ordinary Citizens Wives have their gownes made with long traines, which are pinned up in the house, and borne

*The womens  
Apparrell.*



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up by maide servants when they goe abroade, which fashion of old onely great Noblemen used with us: And in many Cities, aswel the married as unmarried Women, weare long fardingales, hanging about their feete like hoopes, which our Women used of olde, but have now changed to short fardingals about their hippes.

*Bohmerland.*

[III.iv.169.] The Bohemians are apparrelled much like the Germans, and delight in greene, yellow, and light colours, but more frequently weare silkes and velvets then the Germans, and also false Jewels of their owne. And many times they weare blacke cloth with many laces or fringes of light colours, each fringe differing in colour one from the other. And in respect of forraigne Ambassadors comming from all parts to Prage, and of Italian Merchants frequenting there, the Bohemians are more infected with forraigne fashions, then the Germans. The married Gentlewomen attire their heads like our Virgins, and in like sort beare up their haire on the forehead with a wier. They use with the Germans to make their gownes with traines, or to beare them out with long fardingals, and to weare short cloakes. Citizens wives weare upon their heads large gray caps, rugged like gray Connie skinnies, and formed like the hives of Bees, or little caps of velvet close to the head, of a dunne colour, with the hinder skirt (or hinder part) cut off and open: And upon their legges they weare white buskins, wrought with velvet at the toes; but upon their armes they weare large sleeves, and contrary to the Germans, thinke them to be most comely.

*Sweitzerland.*

The Sweitzers, being Citizens (for their nobility is long since rooted out by popular seditions) weare large round caps, (such as are used by our Prentices and Students in the Innes of Court), and together with them they weare cloakes (whereas with us they are onely used with gownes), yea, and Swords also (which seemed strange to be worne with caps). They weare great large puffed breeches, gathered close above the knees, and each puffle made of a divers light colour; but their doublets are made close to the body. The married Women cover their heads with a

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linnen coyfe, and upon it weare such caps as the men use, (which are broader then we used in England), and commonly weare a linnen crossecloth upon the forehead. To be briefe, the Virgins goe bare headed with their haire woven up, and use short cloakes, and aswell married as unmarried Women, as also the Men, are apparrelled like the Germans, and affect nothing lesse then pride in their attire.

In the united Provinces, the Inhabitants being for the most part Merchants and Citizens, the Men use modest attire of grave colours, and little beautified with lace or other ornament. They weare short cloakes of English cloth, with one small lace to cover the seames, and a narrow facing of silke or velvet. Their doublets are made close to the body, their breeches large and fastened under the knees commonly of woollen cloth, or else of some light stuffe, or of silke or velvet. They use very little lace, no imbroidery, yet the Hollanders of old accounted the most rude of the other Provinces, at this day increased in wealth, and reputation of the State, doe by little and little admit luxury, and their sonnes apply themselves both to the apparrell and manners of the English and French. Women aswell married as unmarried, cover their heads with a coyfe of fine holland linnen cloth, and they weare gowns commonly of some slight stuffe, & for the most part of black colour, with little or no lace or guards, and their necke ruffles are little (or short) but of very fine linnen. For aswell men as women for their bodies and for all uses of the Family, use very fine linnen; and I thinke that no clownes in the World weare such fine shirts as they in Holland doe. Some of the chiefe Women not able to abide the extreme cold, and loth to put fier under them for heate (as the common use is) because it causeth wrinckles and spots on their bodies, doe use to weare breeches of linnen or silke. All Women in generall, when they goe out of the house, put on a hoyke or vaile which covers their heads, and hangs downe upon their backs to their legges; and this vaile in Holland is of

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

a light stuffe or Kersie, and hath a kinde of horne rising over the forehead, not much unlike the old pummels of our Womens saddles, and they gather the Vaile with their hands to cover all their faces, but onely the eyes: but the Women of Flanders and Brabant weare Vailes altogether of some light fine stuffe, and fasten them about the hinder part and sides of their cap, so as they hang loosely, not close to the body, and leave their faces open to view, and these Caps are round, large, and flat to the head, and of Velvet, or at least guarded therewith, and are in forme like our potlids used to cover pots in the Kitchin: And these Women, aswel for these Vailes, as their modest garments with gowns close at the brest and necke, and for their pure and fine linnen, seemed to me more faire then any other Netherlanders, as indeed they are generally more beautifull.

*Denmarks.*

[III.iv.170.] I did see the King of Denmarke entred a daies journey in his progresse towards Holsatia (vulgarly Holst), and he wore a loose gippoe of blacke velvet, sparingly adorned with gold lace, and in the Towne he wore a large broade brimmed felt hat, with the brimmes in part buttoned up, but in his Coach he wore a rough Brunswicke hat, used in the lower parts of Germany, and had a large chaine of gold hanging under one arme so low, as it was folded about his girdle: And when he walked abroad, he carried his Sword upon his shoulder with the point in his hand, and the hilts hanging downe behind him. His chiefe Courtiers and his younger brother were all attired in an English cloth, which they called Kentish cloth, we call Motley, but much finer then that whereof we make cloakebags, and of purpose made for them, costing some two dollers the ell. They wore gold chaines, so short as they reached not further then the sixth or seventh button of their doublets, but the linkes were great, and they had a Tablet of gold annexed to them. They carried their swords as the King did, with the hilts hanging over the shoulder, and they wore daggers with heavy sheaths of silver, like those used in Saxony. The Kings Guard wore

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huge breeches puffed, and of divers colours, like the Sweitzers hose. In generall, the Danes are apparelled like the Germans, and especially like the Saxons, constantly and modestly, and they so abhorre from strange fashions, as the Kings Father lately deceased, was reported to have given the strange apparrell of certaine Gentlemen newly returned from forraigne parts, to the infamous Hangman, that they might be despised of the Gentry. Gentlewomen Virgins goe with their heads bare, and their haire woven and adorned with rowes of pearle. And the married Gentlewomen goe with their heads covered with a fine linnen coyfe, and weare upon their foreheads a French shadow of velvet to defend them from the Sunne, which our Gentlewomen of old borrowed of the French, and called them Bonegraces, now altogether out of use with us; and they adorne their heads with borders of Gold. Women as well married as unmarried, Noble and of inferiour condition, weare thinne bands about their neckes, yet not falling, but erected, with the upper bodies of their outward garment of velvet, but with short skirts, and going out of the house, they have the German custome to weare cloakes. They also weare a chaine of Gold like a breast-plate, and girdles of silver, and gilded.

At Dermind, the Haven of Dantzke in Prussen, I did see the King of Poland ready to sayle into Suevia or Suecia, his Fathers Kingdome of Inheritance, for whom lately dead, he then wore mourning Apparrell, namely a long blacke cloake of woollen cloth, and a cap or low hat of blacke silke with narrow brimmes, with a falling band about his necke, a blacke doublet close to his body, and large breeches fastened under the knee. The Queene being of the House of Austria, was attired like the Noblewomen of Germany, and being then ready to take ship, her head was covered with a coyfe of fine linnen, and upon her forehead shee wore a crossecloth almost downe to the nose. The Kings Courtiers wore two long coates, the upper coate (or cloake with sleeves was longer then the

*The Polonians.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

other, the skirts whereof on the right side, were so fastened on the shoulder with silver buttons, and so cast upon the left shoulder, as they had their right armes altogether free; and this upper coate was of English cloth, faced before with silke. The lower or inner coate was of silke or some light stuffe, hanging downe on one side to the knees, on the other side doubled and fastened to the girdle, and both coates were of light colours, but without any lace of Gold or Silver, or other ornament whatsoever. They wore breeches and stockings of the same cloth, like those of our old men, or the trusses of Ireland, and their shirts were of much finer linnen then the Germans use. And they wore a fine and very large linnen handkercher, fastened to their Girdles behind: but they had no ruffles nor any bands of linnen about their neckes, which are onely used by some few Gentlemen, who have lived in forraigne parts, but the colours of their coates weare raised with a peake behind to keepe the necke warme. They wore extraordinary little caps, hardly covering the crowne of the head, and in them wore some sixe feathers, not of mixed or light colours, nor broade, as we weare them, but white and narrow, such (or the same) as are pulled from Capons tailes. The Polonians shave all their heads close, excepting the haire of the forehead, which they nourish very long and cast backe to the hinder part of the head. They carry for Armes a Turkish Cemeter, and weare [III.iv.171.] shooes of leather and also of wood, both painted and both shodde under the heele and toes with pieces of Iron, making great noise as they goe. The Gentlemen weare chaines of gold folded about their girdles, and carry in their hands a little hammer of silver, and perhaps gilded, and these of inferiour sort one of Iron. The Hungarians in their attire differ little from the Polonians, but no Hungarian may weare a feather, except he have done some noble act, and according to the number of his brave actions, so many feathers he may weare, to witnesse his valour. At Crakaw I did see the Castellani (that is, Keepers of Castles) and many Gentlemen riding to the

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Court, and other places in the City, and the Gentlemen attending them, went on foot before their Horses, with Feathers in their little caps, and the vulgar attendants followed their Horses. The buttocks of their horses were covered with cloth of gold, or the skinne of some wilde beast, or some like ornament, and about many of their Horses eares, hung chaines of gold or silver, their bridles were guilded, and set with buttens of gold, and the horsemen not onely weare swords by their sides, but also every Horseman (especially riding in the highway, or being in forraigne parts upon any Ambassage, or in like pompes, hath another, and some a third sword (or Cimeter) fastned to their saddles and girthes, besides that both on foote and on horsebacke they carry a hammer in their hands.

The Gentlewomen, after the Netherlanders fashion, *The Gentlewomen.* cover the head with a coyfe of fine linnen, and weare a crosscloth upon the forehead, and as the men, so they weare no ruffe or linnen band about the necke, but many have about their neckes chaines of Pearle worth two hundred, yea, five hundred Dollers, and some line the collar of the upper body of their Gownes with furre, and so cover the nakednesse of the necke behind. The unmarried women weare aprons of fine linnen, and goe with bare heads, having their haire woven, as our women use, with a narrow piece of Velvet crossing the middest of their heads, and going out of the house, they cast a white Vayle upon their heads and backes, but shew their faces open. The meaner sort of married women either wrap their heads and mouthes with a narrow long piece of linnen, or only cover their mouthes with linnen, and wearing a low hat cast a Vayle from it, to cover the hinder part of the head, and all the backe, and they weare loose Kirtles over their other apparrell, which are tied behind with strings. The common sort of Country women cover themselves all over with linnen cloth or skinnes of beaste.

The Prussians are tributary to the King of Poland, and upon free conditions acknowledge themselves subject to the Crowne of Poland, and their attire as also language

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little differs from the Germans, save that their apparrell is more sumptuous, but of them I have formerly spoken in the discourse of the Germans attire.

*Italia.*

Of the Italians it is proverbially said, that the Venetians are gowned, yet by night going to visit their Mistresses, weare short Spanish cloakes. That those of Ferrara and Mantua are proud in their attire, with their caps set with gold buttons. That the Florentines are ridiculous, (yet I observed none more modestly attired.) That those of Genoa are neate and comely in attire, but weare no gownes, nor lace, nor gardes. That those of Milan are decent, and the Neapolitans are glittering and sumptuous. Surely the Italians in generall, respect the conveniency more then ornament of their apparrell. When they take journeyes, they weare large bootes, that they may sling off being untied, but such as keepe them dry in all weathers; and to the same ende they weare thicke felt hats, and short felt clokes, which no raine can pierce, respecting the health, not the ornaments of their bodies. And howsoever their apparrell is soft and delicate, yet they onely weare cloth and stufes made at home, not any brought from forraigne parts. Their garments are commonly of silke, but seldome embrodred, and never laid with gold or silver lace, and commonly of black colour. And howsoever all those mixed colours which we so highly esteeme, come from thence, yet are they not invented by the Italians, but by the Factors of our Merchants, who lie there of purpose, to feede the fantastick pride of our Youth, in new Stufes, or at least new colours and names.

[III. iv. 17a.] The Citizens of Genoa, weare gold Chaines, and might seeme proudly attired in garments of Velvet, save that we must remember, that they are not onely Merchants but Gentlemen, and some of them Princes.

The Venetians, by reason of their strict Lawes from all antiquity restraining excesse in apparrell, howsoever many times they weare sumptuous garments, yet are they hidden under their gownes, not to be seene but by their Mistrisses at night. They make woollen cloth of such lasting, as

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they bequeath their gownes by their last testaments. All the Gentlemen, not one excepted, weare blacke cloth gownes, buttoned close at the necke, with the sleeves put on over their doublets, aswell young as old men, but some under this civill gowne weare rich furies, and imbrodred garments. And the Senators, Doctors, and Knights, weare Scarlet gownes, with large sleeves, lined in winter with rich furies. And their Senate is no lesse or more glorious in publike pompes, then the Roman Senate was of old. And the Gentlemen constantly weare these gownes, either in singular pride to be knowne from others, (for no Citizen, nor any Gentlemen of other Cities weare gownes), or for obedience to the Law, or out of an old custome, which the most wise Magistrates permit not to be broken. And for the same cause, all the Gentlemen, none excepted, weare little caps of Freese or Cloth, hardly covering the crowne, or the forepart of the head.

All other Italians in generall weare stufte cloakes, and commonly of Silke in summer, and cloth in winter, and light felt hats with narrow brimmes; and large breeches, sometimes wide, and open at the knee, after the Spanish fashion, but more commonly tied under the knee, and a loose coate or gippo, but not wide, and a doublet close to the body, both of silke, and lined with silke, and silke stockings. Also many weare Jewels, but as it were hidden, to bee seene onely by chance. Lastly, in great wisdome they care not to have rich apparrell, but hold it honourable to live of their owne. They make no fine linnen, & therefore use course linnen, both for shirts, and other uses of the Family, and commonly weare little falling bands, and many times ruffles of Flanders linnen, sometimes wrought with Italian Cut-worke, much used with us, but their ruffles are not so great as ours, and they have little skill in washing, starching, or smoothing linnen. They weare very short haire, as all Nations doe that live in hot climes, the contrary vice of wearing long haire being proper to the French, English, and Scots, but especially to the Irish. The Italians clothe very little children with doublets and



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breeches, but their breeches are open behind, with the shirt hanging out, that they may ease themselves without helpe. Among other Princes of Italy, I did see Ferdinand the third, Duke of Florence, who did weare a cloke of English cloth, with one little lace, and breeches of Velvet without any ornament, and stockings of leather, and a leather scabbard to his sword, and his Coach was lined with old greene Velvet, and the Horses seemed taken out of the Plough.

*The women of  
Venice.*

The women in generall are delighted with mixed and light colours. The women of Venice weare choppines or shoos three or foure hand-bredths high, so as the lowest of them seeme higher then the tallest men, and for this cause they cannot goe in the streetes without leaning upon the shoulder of an old woman. They have another old woman to beare up the traine of their gowne, & they are not attended with any man, but onely with old women. In other parts of Italy, they weare lower shooes, yet somewhat raised, and are attended by old women, but goe without any helpe of leading. The women of Venice weare gowned, leaving all the necke and brest bare, and they are closed before with a lace, so open, as a man may see the linnen which they lap about their bodies, to make them seeme fat, the Italians most loving fat women. They shew their naked necks and breasts, and likewise their dugges, bound up and swelling with linnen, and all made white by art. They weare large falling bands, and their haire is commonly yellow, made so by the Sunne and art, and they raise up their haire on the forehead in two knotted hornes, and deck their heads & uncovered haire with flowers of silke, and with pearle, in great part counterfeit. And they cast a black vaile from the head to the shoulders, through which the nakednesse of their shoulders, and neckes, and breasts, may easily be seene. For this attire the women of Venice are proverbially said to be, *Grande de legni, Grosse di straci, rosse di bettito, bianche di calcina*: that is tall with wood, fat with ragges, red with painting, and white with chalke. The women

[III.iv.173.]

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of Genoa are attired much after the French fashion, and by reason of neighbourhood, borrow divers manners from France, (which is also to be understood of other Cities lying under the French Alpes), and they goe abroad either alone, or attended by men, not by women as in other parts; yea, by night, and early in the morning to the Church, (which suspected fashions other Italians cannot endure.) They weare nets and blacke vales, covering therewith their faces, contrary to the French manner, without which the poorest woman goes not abroad.

In generall the Women of Italy, (for divers Cities have some fashions differing from other) most commonly (but especially the wives of shopkeepers) weare gowns of silke and light stuffes, yea, woven with gold, and those close at the brest and necke, with a standing collar, and little ruffles close up to the very chinne, and shewing no part naked. And Gentlewomen in generall, weare gownes loose behind, with a close collar, hiding all nakednesse, and with traines borne up by waitingmaides, and sometimes with open hanging sleeves. The married women weare their heads bare, or covered with a fine linnen coyfe, and a hat, and a vaile hanging downe from the hinder part of the head to the backe. The unmarried have their heads bare, with their haire knotted like snakes, and tied with gold and silver laces, or else they are covered with a gold netted cawle, and they weare also gold chaines. The married women weare chaines of pearle about the head and necke, which in some places are forbidden to Virgins; and these pearles are many times (especially at Venice) counterfet, and made of glasse, but very beautifull to the eye. Widdowes and Women that mourne, cover all their head and shoulders with a blacke vaile, and upon the forehead they weare a shadow or bongrace, and about their neckes a white vaile, hanging downe before to their feete.) The Countrey wenches weare upon their heads gold and silver cawles, or at least seeming such, and straw hats, and guilded girdles, and for the rest as other women are delighted with light colours.

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

The City Virgins, and especially Gentlewomen, cover their heads, face, and backes with a Vaile, that they may not be seene passing the streetes, and in many places weare silke or linnen breeches under their gowned. Also I have seene honourable Women, aswell married as Virgines, ride by the high way in Princes traines, apparrelled like Men, in a doublet close to the body, and large breeches open at the knees, after the Spanish fashion, both of carnation silke or satten, and likewise riding astride like men upon Horses or Mules, but their heads were attired like Women, with bare haire knotted, or else covered with gold netted cawles, and a hat with a feather. And many times in the Cities (as at Padua) I have seene Curtizans (in plaine English, whores) in the time of shroving, apparrelled like men, in carnation or light coloured doublets and breeches, and so playing with the racket at Tennis with yong men, at which time of shroving, the Women no lesse then Men, (and that honourable women in honourable company,) goe masked and apparrelled like men all the afternoone about the streetes, even from Christmasse holydaies to the first day in Lent. The Women wearing Mens breeches, have them open all before, and most part behind, onely buttoned with gold or silver buttons: And the Curtizans make all the forepart of their gowned in like manner open, to avoide wrinckling.

Lastly, the Italians use to tie themselves upon a vow for recovery of health, or like cause, to weare certaine apparrell for a time or for life; and if the vow be in repentance of sinne, the colour is ashcolour, vulgarly Beretino, which I have seene some weare for long time constantly, with purpose to weare them during life.

## OF THE APPAREL OF THE TURKS

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1605-17.

### Chap. II.

#### Of the Turkes, French, English, Scottish, and Irish Apparrell.



**T**He Turkes shave their heads, but only in the very crowne, where they leave a tuft of haire; and they doe not now as of old, onely nourish the haire of the upper lip, but al the beard growing round. They cover their head thus shaved with a close cap of Scarlet, and above it weare some twelve or twenty elles of fine white cotton cloth, woven into a round globe, which in their tongue is called a Tulbent, and by some Tsalma: neither do they ever uncover their heads in honour to any man, but salute by bending the body, and laying their left hand on their right side. This cap (or this head, as they call it) is hollow, and so admits aire, being borne up by little hoopes, and so cooles the head, yet being thicke, keepes out the Sunne from piercing it, and being of most fine linnen, is much lighter then our hats. All the Orders or degrees among the Turkes, are knowne by the ornament of the head (or by their heades, as they speake.) The Azimoglanes weare Pyramidall caps like sugar-loves, of a mingled colour and light stuffe. The Janizares weare the said Tulbent, but have also a cap peculiar to their Order, vulgarly called Zarcola, which they weare going abroad into the City, being a standing cap, plaine at the top, with an hood hanging down behind (like that part of our French hoods), with a gilded horne of brasse upright above the forehead. The Janizares that are Courtiers, weare a Feather hanging downe from the hinder part of the head to the very heeles. The Chausses, and all degrees upward to the very Emperour, weare the said Tulbent or Cap, with a little piece of red velvet appearing at the very crowne, upon which they set Jewels and Feathers, whereby these higher orders and degrees in the warre are distinguished. Like

[III.iv.174.]  
*Turkey.*



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white Tulbents, but altogether plaine, are worne by inferiour Turkes, that are not Souldiers, and they cannot bee more provoked, then by casting any spot upon their white heads, which they weare as an holy badge of their Religion, placing the purity of the soule for a great part in the outward purity of the body, Tulbent, and garments. All these Tulbents be of pure white; but the Greekes and other Christians, aswell subjects as strangers, weare Shasses, that is, striped linnen (commonly white and blew), wound about the skirts of a little cap. Such a Shasse my selfe did weare, costing fifteene Meidines.

The Persians weare such Tulbents for the forme, but the cloth is of greene colour. And the Turkes (as I thinke) called Seriffi, and by others called Hemir, namely, the Kindred or race of Mahomet, (who make great shew of hereditary holinesse, and are of singular reputation), doe not onely weare greene Tulbents, but all garments of the same colour, yet some of them weare garments of other colours, with a greene marke to be knowne from others. They say, that Mahomet used to weare greene garments, whereupon in superstition they onely permit this colour to his race; and if any chance to weare a shoo-string or garters of that colour, by ignorance of this rite, they will flie upon him, and beate him with cudgels, and if hee still weare them, will punish him more severely. My self ignorant of this rite, passed most part of Turkey, with my dublet lined with greene taffety, but sleeping by nights in my dublet, and hiding the silke, lest they should thinke me rich; by great chance this error of mine was never detected, till I came to Constantinople, where our Ambassadour observing it, and telling mee the great cruelty they use towards such as weare any greene thing, did much astonish me, yet did I still weare the same, being safe in the priviledge of the Ambassadors house, till I went into a Venetian ship, to sayle into Italy. Besides [III.iv. 175.] these hypocrites of Mahomets race, (for that cause so much respected, as the witnesse of one of them availles more then of ten common Turkes), they have other orders of

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religious men, whereof the chiefe, and (as it were) Metropolitan Bishop is called Mophy, whom the Emperour highly respects, and takes counsell of him when he goes to warre. Also the Cady is a chiefe Judge of Ecclesiasticall causes: And all these weare silke gownes of skie coloured blew, which colour is esteemed next greene, and proper to some such orders. And these religious men weare their gownes long to the ground, with close sleeves, and their tulbents are larger, but flatter, then other Turkes

Neither men nor women of the Turkes, weare any necke bands or collars, but their gownes are cut close to the lowest part of the necke, and there made fast, so as all the necke is naked. And the gownes of men and women little differ, save that the men have them large, the women close at the brest. They hate the blacke colour, as infernall, and much used by Christians. In general, the men weare a long coate to the knee, and upon it a long gowne with gathered sleeves hanging to the calfe of the legge, and buttoned at the brest, and a third longer gowne hanging behind to the ground, with sleeves close to the arme. They weare a girdle of silke or linnen twice or thrice about the waste, or of fine leather with plates of gold and silver. Their breeches and stockings are of one peece of Kersey, like Irish Trousers, but larger, the stockings hanging loose without any garters. They weare their shirts hanging over their breeches, under which they have linnen breeches, which they weare also by night, in stead of sheetes: And they pull out their shirts by day, lest they should be spotted by their privy parts, making it a point of religion, to keepe their garments cleane. Lastly; they weare red and yellow shooes, of most thinne leather, pointed sharpe at the toes; and two fingers high at the heele, with peeces of iron under the soles, or else leather buskins, and both these they put off within dores; sitting upon the ground, spread with Carpets, crossing their naked feete like our Taylors. Their upper gowne and breeches are commonly

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of English or Venetian cloth, and many times of satten or damaske, or some light stuffe: And their coates are loose, and commonly lined with blacke Conie skinnies, brought out of England, and much esteemed by them; as being soft, and coole, and keeping out the Sunne in a loose garment, and also warme in a close garment. Thus they weare the finest cloth, silkes, and stuffes, but not one is found so prodigall or ridiculous, as to weare any lace, and much lesse to cut any stuffe, all wearing them plaine, and laughing at our contrary fashions. They have no glooves, and I remember that my selfe in Syria being poorely attired, yet was taken for a great man, onely for wearing gloves. They weare very large hand-kerchers, and wrought all over with silke of light colours, which they hang by their sides about the girdle. They use linnen cloth or cotton cloth very thinne and fine, but of browne colour, for thinnesse not unlike our boulting cloths, but most pure and cleane, in which they are curious for al things worne about the body. The chief pride of the Turkes, is in having the pummels of their Cemeters (or short and broad Swords) set with Jewels, which are many times counterfet, and commonly of small value, and likewise in having good Horses, with bridles and saddles rich and set with like Jewels. I never observed any Turkes to weare gold Rings or Jewels on their fingers, excepting onely some Souldiers in Syria, whom I have seene weare great rings of white bone upon their thumbs. But the great men highly esteerne Christian Jewellers, not to weare the Jewels, but rather to have their treasure portable, and easie to be hidden. The Turkes weare no Swords in the Cities, but onely in the Campe, or in Journies. For Janizaries and other Souldiers have such authority without armes, as no man dares resist them, so as carrying onely a long and heavy cudgell in their hands, one of them will therewith beat multitudes of Turkes, like so many dogs: yet the Janizaries in Syria weare at their girdles short and heavy Knives, like daggers.

*The Turkish  
Women.*

The Turkish women weare smocks (of which fashion

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also the mens shirts are) of fine linnen, wrought with silke at the wrests, upon the sleeves, and at the skirts; and a long cote of silke, wrought with needle-worke, and edged, with sleeves close to the arme, and at the breast, with their necks naked. The womens gownes are much like those [III.iv.176.] of the men, for cloth and fashion, and in like sort without lace, and plaine without cutting, and open before, so as the smocke is seene; and they weare linnen breeches as men, by day and night, or else such breeches of cloth, as men weare, and both these open at the knee; and as the men, so likewise the women, have no collar of any garment, but their neckes bee naked, and the women have Pearles hanging in their eares. But they seldome weare shooes or stockings like men, but commonly Buskins of light colours, adorned with gold and silver, or with Jewells if they be of the richer sort, or wives of great men; and these they weare onely abroad, for at home their feet be naked, & as men, so they sit crosselegd upon carpets. They weave up their haire in curious knots, & so let them hang at length, & deck the haire with Pearle and buttons of gold, and with Jewels & flowers of silk wrought with the needle. The women in Syria cover their heads with little peeces of coined moneys joyned together with thread, in stead of a linnen coife. No Turkish woman, that ever I observed in that vast Empire, at any time goeth forth to buy any thing, or for any businesse of the family, but when upon other occasions they go forth, then they cover their heads and foreheads with a white vaile, their eyes with a blacke Cipers, and muffle their mouthes and neckes with white linnen, and hide their very hands under their vailles, though their hands be all painted over with a red colour, made of an hearb, which in the Easterne parts is held a great ornament, so as the very men in some places paint their hands. Also the women, over their garments (be they costly or poore) weare a gowne of a darke coloured cloth, which both rich and meaner women all generally use of the same kind of cloth and the same colour, whensoever they goe out of the dores, so as thus muffled and covered,



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they cannot be distinguished in condition or beauty. Neither goe they abroad in any pompe to be seene, nor without the leave of their husbands, to whom, and to no other at any time, they shew their face open, and their hands unpainted, except they will by immodesty procure their owne danger. Under the necke of this gowne covering all their apparrell, they thrust the end of their white vaile hanging downe from the hinder part of the head; yet the Greekish women weare this vaile loose over that gowne. And this singular modesty is attributed to these women, that they blush to come into Market places, or publike meetings, or great companies, and are not displeased to be strictly kept at home. Lastly, in respect of their frequent bathing, and their faces covered when they goe abroad, and so never open to the Sunne, wind, or any ill weather, the Turkish and Greekish women have most delicate bodyes, and long preserve their beauties.

*France.* The French, if we respect the time of these late Civill wars, weare light stufes and woollen cloth, with a doublet close to the body, and large easie breeches, and all things rather commodious for use, then brave for ornament; and scoffed at those who came richly attired to the Campe, or wore long haire. But if wee consider their apparrell before the misery of the said civill warres, we shall find them authors to us English, of wearing long haire, doublets with long bellies to the navell, ruffes hanging downe to the shoulders, and breeches puffed as big as a tunne, with all like wanton levities. In time of peace, Gentlemen weare mixed and light colours, and silk garments, laid with silke lace, and sattens, commonly raced, and stockings of silke, or of some light stuffe, but never woollen or worsted (which only Merchants weare,) and imbrodered garments, with great inconstancy in the fashion, and negligently or carelessly, which the Germans call slovenly, because they many times goe without hatbands and garters, with their points untrust, and their doublets unbutned. The sumptuary lawes forbid Gentlemen to weare cloth or lace of gold and silver, but when

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the King proclaimes an honourable warre against any forraine Prince, he permits any bravery to his soldiers, yet so, as the warre ended, after a fit time to weare out that apparrel, they must returne to their former attire, except the king be so weake, as he cannot give life to these lawes. Aswell men as women commonly weare course linnen, and Gentlemens Lacqueis or servants ruffle in plaine ragges. In generall, men and women (excepting Courtiers and some of the Gentry) weare light stufes, and rather delicate then sumptuous garments. And howsoever the Law forbids to weare silke lace upon silke stufes, yet the execution of the Law being neglected, they ever offend more or lesse, according to the libertie of the time, against this old Law, never yet abolished, but rather in time worne out of respect. Merchants weare blacke garments of doth, or light stufes of silke, commonly after a modest fashion. The Senators weare cloakes and hats (not gownes and caps as ours use), and onely the Presidents and Counsellors of Parliaments weare scarlet gownes, and that onely at solemne times, as the first day that the Court sits, and all the Procurators daily weare gownes. The Country people commonly used to weare blew cloth, in loose coates and close breeches, with stockings hanging over their shooes. But they have left this fashion, and now for the most part, weare close doublets, and large breeches, with a large coate hanging downe to the knees, all of light stufes made at home, and stockings of course wooll. And their wives in like sort attyred, have their heads all over-wrapped in linnen.

[III.iv.177.]

In generall the women, married, cover their heads with a coyfe or netted cawle. The Gentlewomen beare up their haire on the fore-heads with a wier, and upon the back part of the head weare a cap of other haire then their owne, over their cawle, and above that they weare a coyfe of silke, lined with Velvet, and having a peake downe the forehead. Or else the Gentlewomen and wives of rich Merchants, with small difference of degree, weare upon their heads a black vaile of Cipers, peaked at the forehead, with a velvet

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hood hanging downe behind; onely the Gentlewomen weare this hood gathered, and the Merchants wives plaine. Women of inferiour sort weare like hoods of cloth, and sometimes of silke, or a light stuffe. And some Merchants wives and women of ordinary condition, weare a white coife of linnen (fine or course according to their condition) with certaine high and not very comely hornes, wreathed up on the forehead. Both men and women lately used falling bands, which the better sort starched, and raised up with wier, shewing their necks and breasts naked. But now both more commonly and especially in winter, weare thicke ruffles. Gentlewomen and Citizens wives when they goe out of dores, weare upon their faces little Maskes of silk, lined with fine leather, which they alwaies unpin, and shew their face, to any that salutes them. And they use a strange badge of pride, to weare little looking glasses at their girdles. Commonly they go in the streets leaning upon a mans arme. They weare very light gownes, commonly blacke, and hanging loose at the backe, and under it an upper-body close at the breast, with a kirtle of a mixed or light colour, and of some light stuffe, laid with many gardes, in which sort the women generally are attired. They weare sleeves to their gownes borne out with whalebones, and of a differing colour from the gowne, which besides hath other loose hanging sleeves cast backward, and aswel the upperbodies as the kirtles, differ from the gowne in colour and stuffe. And they say, that the sleeves borne up with whale-bones, were first invented, to avoid mens familiar touching of their armes. For it was related unto me (I know not how credibly), that by Phisitions advice the French make issues in their armes for better health, as the Italians use to make them under the knees, covered with a close garter of brasse. In France as well men as women, use richly to bee adorned with Jewels. The men weare rings of Diamonds, and abroad Jewels in their hats, placed upon the roote of their feathers. The Ladies weare their Jewels commonly at the brest, or upon the left arme, and many other waies; for

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who can containe the mutable French in one and the same fashion? and they commonly weare chaines of Pearle, yea, the very wives of Merchants weare rings of Diamonds, but most commonly chaines of bugell and like toyes of black colour.

The Gentlemen have no plate of silver, but some spoones and a salt, much lesse have they any plate of gold. But the great Lords or Princes eate in silver dishes, and use basons and ewers of silver, and no other kind of plate, using alwaies to drinke in glasses, and each severall man to have a glasse by himselfe.

Cæsar reports that the old Britans were apparrelled in *England.* skinnes, and wore long haire, with the beard all shaven, but the upper lippe. Now the English in their apparrell are become more light then the lightest French, and more sumptuous then the proudest Persians. More light I say then the French, because with singular inconstancy they have in this one age worne out all the fashions of France *[III.iv.178.]* and all the Nations of Europe, and tired their owne inventions, which are no lesse buisie in finding out new and ridiculous fashions, then in scraping up money for such idle expences: yea, the Taylors and Shopkeepers daily invent fantastick fashions for hats, and like new fashions and names for stufes. Some may thinke that I play the Poet, in relating wonderfull but incredible things, but men of experience know that I write with historicall truth. That the English by Gods goodnesse abounding at home with great variety of things to be worne, are not onely not content therewith, and not onely seeke new garments from the furthest East, but are besides so light and vaine, as they suffer themselves to be abused by the English Merchants, who nourishing this generall folly of their Countrymen, to their own gaine, daily in forraigne parts cause such new colours and stufes to be made, as their Masters send painted out of England to them, teaching strangers to serve our lightnesse with such inventions as themselves never knew before. For this cause the English of greater modesty in apparrell, are forced to cast



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*A pleasant  
fable.*

off garments before they be worne, since it is the law of nature, that every man may eate after his owne appetite, but must weare his apparrell after the vulgar fashion, except he will looke like an old picture in cloth of Arras.

I have heard a pleasant fable, that Jupiter sent a shower, wherein whosoever was wet, became a foole; and that all the people were wet in this shower, excepting one Philosopher, who kept his study: but in the evening comming forth into the market place, and finding that all the people mocked him as a foole, who was onely wise, was forced to pray for another like shower, that he might become a foole, and so live quietly among fooles, rather then beare the envy of his wisdom. This happens to many wise men in our age, who wearing apparrell of old and good fashion, are by others so mocked for proud and obstinate fooles, till at last they are forced to be foolish with the fooles of their time. The English I say are more sumptuous then the Persians, because despising the golden meane, they affect all extremities. For either they will be attired in plaine cloth and light stuffes, (alwayes provided that every day without difference their hats be of Bever, their shirts and bands of the finest linnen, their daggers and swords gilded, their garters and shooes roses of silke, with gold or silver lace, their stockings of silke wrought in the seames with silke or gold, and their cloakes in Summer of silke, in Winter at least all lined with velvet), or else they daily weare sumptuous doublets and breeches of silke or velvet, or cloth of gold or silver, so laid over with lace of gold or silke, as the stuffes (though of themselves rich) can hardly be seene. The English and French have one peculiar fashion, which I never observed in any other part, namely to weare scabbards and sheaths of velvet upon their rapiers and daggers: For in France very Notaries use them in the Cities, and ride upon their footecloaths, or in Coaches (both hired), and in England men of meane sort use them. In the time of Queene Elizabeth the Courtiers delighted much in darke colours, both simple and mixt, and did often

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weare plaine blacke stuffes; yet that being a brave time of warre, they, together with our Commanders, many times wore light colours, richly laced and embrodered, but the better sort of Gentlemen then esteemed simple light colours to be lesse comely, as red and yellow, onely white excepted, which was then much worne in Court. Now in this time of King James his Reigne, those simple light colours have beene much used.

If I should begin to set downe the variety of fashions and forraign stuffes brought into England in these times, I might seeme to number the starres of Heaven and sands of the Sea. I will onely adde, that the English in great excesse affect the wearing of Jewels and Diamond Rings, scorning to weare plaine gold rings, or chaines of gold, the men seldome or never wearing any chaines, and the better sort of women commonly wearing rich chaines of pearle, or else the light chaines of France, and all these Jewels must be oriental and precious, it being disgracefull to weare any that are counterfet. In like manner among the better sort of Gentlemen and Merchants, few are found, who have not cupbords of silver and gold plate, to the value of two hundred pounds at the least. And if a feast last longer then one day, they seldome use the same plate of silver or gilded: yea, not only the great Lords, but the better sort of Knights and Gentlemen, use to eate in silver dishes. And whereas the French and Italians use to drinke in glasses, and have few vessels, no pots or boles of silver, and the Germans drink in peuter or stone pots, having little or no plate; most of the housholders in England of any reasonable condition, drinke in silver: yet howsoever the Gentlemen are served with pots and boles of silver, they rather delight to drinke in glasses of Venice, onely the common sort using other kinds of glasses. [III.iv.179.]

In the generall pride of England there is no fit difference made of degrees, for very Bankrouts, Players, and Cut-purses, goe apparrelled like Gentlemen. Many good Lawes have been made against this Babylonian confusion,

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but either the Merchants buying out the penaltie, or the Magistrates not inflicting punishments, have made the multitude of Lawes hitherto unprofitable. Likewise is the excesse of all ages and sexes, but (God be thanked) not of all particular orders; for onely the Merchants and Students of the Universities, with great comlinesse, and no lesse neatenesse, are apparrelled in light stuffes, or silke, or cloth of grave colours, and much keepe their old fashions, or at least are not curiously addicted to new. The wives of Merchants, though little yeelding to others in pride or expence, yet have long used, and still retaine a decent attire, with little or no inconstancy in the fashion. They weare a gowne of some light stuffe or silke, gathered in the backe, and girded to the body with a girdle, and decked with many gardes at the skirt, with which they weare an apron before them, of some silke or stuffe, or fine linnen. They weare upon their heads a coyfe of fine linnen, with their haire raised a little at the forehead, and a cap of silke, or a little hat of beaver, yet without fit difference of estate or condition, and some weare light French chaines and necklaces of pearle. The graver sort of Citizens weare gownes and caps, others weare hats and cloakes, and their prentises cloakes and caps. No Citizens weare any swords in the Citie. At publike meetings the Aldermen of London weare Scarlet gownes, and their wives a close gowne of skarlet laid with gardes of blacke velvet.

*Husbandmen.*

Husbandmen weare garments of course cloth, made at home, and their wives weare gownes of the same cloth, kirtles of some light stuffe, with linnen aprons, and cover their heads with a linnen coyfe, and a high felt hat, and in generall their linnen is course, and made at home.

*The English Women.*

Gentlewomen virgins weare gownes close to the body, and aprons of fine linnen, and goe bareheaded, with their haire curiously knotted, and raised at the forehead, but many against the cold (as they say) weare caps of haire that is not their owne, decking their heads with buttons of gold, pearles, and flowers of silke, or knots of ribben. They weare fine linnen, and commonly falling bands, and

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often ruffles, both starched, and chaines of pearle about the necke, with their breasts naked. The graver sort of married women used to cover their head with a Frenchhood of Velvet, set with a border of gold buttons and pearles: but this fashion is now left, and they most commonly weare a coyfe of linnen, and a little hat of beaver or felt, with their haire somewhat raised at the forehead. Young married Gentlewomen sometimes goe bare headed, as virgins, decking their haire with Jewels, and silke ribbens, but more commonly they use the foresaid linnen coyfe and hats. All in generall, weare gownes hanging loose at the backe, with a Kirtle and close upperbody, of silke or light stuffe, but have lately left the French sleeves borne out with hoopes of whalebone, and the young married Gentlewomen no lesse then the Virgins, shew their breasts naked.

The servants of Gentlemen were wont to weare blew coates, with their Masters badge of silver on the left sleeve: but now they most commonly weare clokes garded with lace, all the servants of one family wearing the same liverie for colour and ornament; and for the rest, are apparelled with no lesse pride and inconstancie of fashion then other degrees.

*The English  
servants.*

The Husbandmen in Scotland, the servants, and almost al in the Country did weare course cloth made at home, of gray or skie colour, and flat blew caps very broad. The Merchants in Cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour or mingled black and blew. The Gentlemen did weare English cloth, or silke, or light stuffes, little or nothing adorned with silke lace, much lesse with lace of silver or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in Court. Gentlewomen married did weare close upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves after the French manner, short cloakes like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands about their neckes. The unmarried of all sorts did goe bareheaded, and weare short cloakes, with most close linnen sleeves on their armes, like

*Scotland.*

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the Virgins of Germany. The inferiour sort of Citizens wives, and the women of the Countrey, did weare cloakes made of a course stuffe, of two or three colours in Checker worke, vulgarly called Plodan. To conclude, in generall they would not at this time be attired after the English fashion, in any sort, but the men, especially at Court, follow the French fashion, and the women, both in Court and City, as well in cloakes, as naked heads, and close sleeves on the armes, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in Germany.

*Ireland.* In Ireland the English and the English Irish are attired after the English manner, for the most part, yet not with such pride and inconstancy, perhaps for want of meanes: yet the English Irish forgetting their owne Countrey, are somewhat infected with the Irish rudenesse, and with them are delighted in simple light colours, as red and yellow. And in like sort the degenerated Citizens are somewhat infected with the Irish filthinesse, as well in lowsie beds, foule sheetes, and all linnen, as in many other particulars; but as well in diet as apparrell, the Citizens of Dublyn most of all other, and the Citizens of Waterford and Galloway in some good measure, retaine the English cleanlinesse. Touching the meere or wild Irish, it may truely be said of them, which of old was spoken of the Germans, namely, that they wander slovenly and naked, and lodge in the same house (if it may be called a house,) with their beasts. Among them the Gentlemen or Lords of Countries, weare close breeches and stockings of the same peece of cloth, of red or such light colour, and a loose coate, and a cloake or three cornered mantle, commonly of course light stuffe made at home, and their linnen is course and slovenly. I say slovenly, because they seldome put off a shirt till it be worne: And these shirts in our memory before the last Rebellion, were made of some twenty or thirty elles, folded in wrinkles, and coloured with saffron to avoid lowsinesse, incident to the wearing of foule linnen. And let no man wonder, that they are lowsie, for never any barbarous people were found

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in all kinds more slovenly then they are, and nothing is more common among them, then for the men to lie upon the womens laps on greene hils, till they kill their lice, with a strange nimblenesse, proper to that Nation. Their said breeches are so close, as they expose to full view, not onely the noble, but also the shamefull parts, yea they stuffe their shirts about their privy parts, to expose them more to the view.

Their wives living among the English, are attired in a sluttish gowne, to be fastned at the breast with a lace, and in a more sluttish mantell, and more sluttish linnen, and their heads be covered after the Turkish manner, with many elles of linnen, onely the Turkish heads or Tulbents are round in the top: but the attire of the Irish womens heads, is more flat in the top and broader on the sides, not much unlike a cheese mot, if it had a hole to put in the head. For the rest, in the remote parts where the English Lawes and manners are unknowne, the very cheefe of the Irish, as well men as women, goe naked in very Winter time, onely having their privy parts covered with a ragge of linnen, and their bodies with a loose mantell, so as it would turne a mans stomacke to see an old woman in the morning before breakefast. This I speake of my owne experience, yet remember that the foresaid Bohemian Barron, comming out of Scotland to us by the North parts of the wild Irish, told me in great earnestnes, (when I attended him at the Lord Deputies command,) that he comming to the house of Ocané a great Lord among them, was met at the doore with sixteene women, all naked, excepting their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very faire, and two seemed very Nymphs: with which strange sight his eyes being dazelled, they led him into the house, and there sitting downe by the fier, with crossed legges like Taylors, and so low as could not but offend [III.iv.181.] chast eyes, desired him to set downe with them. Soone after Ocané the Lord of the Countrie came in all naked excepting a loose mantle, and shooes, which he put off assoone as he came in, and entertaining the Barron after

*The Irish  
Women.*

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his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparrel, which he thought to be a burthen to him, and to sit naked by the fier with his naked company. But the Barron when he came to himselfe after some astonishment at this strange sight, professed that he was so inflamed therewith, as for shame he durst not put off his apparrell.

These Rogues in Summer thus naked beare their armes, girding their swords to them by a with in stead of a girdle. To conclude, men and women, at night going to sleepe, lie thus naked in a round circle about the fier, with their feete towards it, and as I formerly said, treating of their diet, they fold their heads and upper partes in their woollen mantles, first steeped in water, to keepe them warme. For they say that woollen cloth wetted, preserves heate, (as linnen wetted preserves cold) when the smoke of their bodies had warmed the woollen cloth.

### Chap. III.

Of the Germans, and Bohemians Commonwealth, under which title I containe an Historicall introduction; the Princes pedegrees, and Courts, the present state of things, the tributes and renews, the military state for Horse, Foote, and Navy, the Courts of Justice, rare Lawes, more specially the Lawes of inheritance, and of womens Dowries, the capitall Judgements, and the diversitie of degrees in Family and Common-wealth.

*The historicall  
introduction.*



Onstantine the great made Emperour about the yeere 306, removed his seate from Rome to Constantinople, and at his death devided the Empire among his children. And howsoever the Empire was after sometimes united in the person of one Prince for his reigne, yet it could never bee againe established in one body, but was most com-

## OF THE GERMAN COMMONWEALTH

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monly devided into the Easterne and Westerne Empires. In the time of Augustulus Emperour of the West, the remote Countries of the Empire recovered their liberty by the sword, and barbarous Nations in great armies, invaded the Empire, till they possessed Italy, so as this Emperour was forced to depose his Imperiall dignity about the yeere 476. And thus the Westerne Empire ceased, till Charles the great, King of France, about the yeere 774 subdued the Lombards, and was at Rome saluted Emperour of the West by Pope Leo the third, and the Princes of Italy. From which time the Empires of the East and West, of old devided by inheritance among brothers and Kinsmen had no more any mutuall right of succession, but began to bee severally governed. Histories write that Charles the great, King of France, was descended of the Germans, and that all Gallia Transalpina (that is beyond the Alpes) and upper Germany, as farre as Hungary, were by a common name called France, onely devided into Easterne and Westerne France. And the divers Nations of Germany, formerly governed by their Kings and Dukes, were at this time first united under this Charles the great about the yeere 911. Conrade the first, son to the Duke of Franconia (a large Province of Germany), was first out of the race of Charles the great saluted Emperour of the West, by the Princes of Germany, though Charles the Simple, and others of the race of Charles the great, still reigned in France to the yeere 988, yet with lesse reputation then their progenitors had, and troubled with many confusions. Thus Germany deviding it selfe from France, drew to it selfe the Empire of the West, whereof in our age it retaineth rather the shadow then the old glory. [III.iv.182.] Foure Dukes of Saxony succeeded Conrade in this Empire, and in the time of Otho the third Duke of Saxony and Emperour, contrary to the former custome, whereby the Emperours succeeded by right of bloud, or the last testament of the deceased Emperour, or by the consent of the Princes of Germany, the election of the Emperour was in the yeere 984 established hereditary to



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

seven Princes of Germany, called Electors, by a law made by the Emperour and the Pope. From that time the Empire hath remained in Germany, with free election, yet so as they most commonly therein respected the right of bloud, in which respect the house of Austria hath long continued in the possession of the Empire. And the Emperours of Germany for many ages, by this right governed Italy, and received their Crowne at Rome, till wearied and worne out by the treacheries of the Popes, and forced to beare the publike burthen upon their private revenues, they were made unable to support their former dignity. For these causes Rodulphus of Habsburg of the house of Austria chosen Emperour in the yeere 1273, first laid aside all care of forraigne matters. Then the riches of the Emperours daily decreasing, and the riches of inferiour Princes no lesse increasing, the Emperours in processe of time, for great summes of money, sold libertie and absolute power to the Princes and Dukes of Italy and Germany, yea, their very right of investing, to the Princes of Italy.

*Netherland  
and  
Switzerland.*

Most of the Cities in Netherland, and all the Cantons of the Sweitzers, were of old subject to the German Emperours, till by the dissentions betweene them and the Popes, they found meanes to gaine their liberties. Of old nintie sixe greater Cities thus made free, still acknowledged the Emperour in some sort: but after many of them, leagued with the Sweitzers and Netherlanders, quite forsooke the Emperour, many of the rest, and many lesse Cities, either pawned to Princes for money borrowed, or given to Princes for their good service to the Emperors in their warres, became subject to divers Princes by the Emperours consent; so as at this day there bee onely sixty Cities, all seated in Germany, which are called Free and Imperiall Cities, having absolute power within themselves; and howsoever these in a sort acknowledge the Emperour their chiefe Lord, yet they little or not at al feare or respect his weake power.

Hitherto the Roman Bishops, not enduring a superiour

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*The Roman  
Bishops.*

Lord, first cast the Emperours of the East out of Italy, and after by al meanes weakened their power, till Mahumet the second Emperour of the Turkes, about the yeere 1453, swallowed that Empire within his foule jawes. Hitherto the said Bishops, that they might reigne alone, sometimes bewitched the barbarous Kings, which had destroyed the Empire of the West, and then reigned in Italy, for Religions sake to promote the Church of Rome, and at other times oppressed them with open treacheries, till they had conferred the Kingdome of Lombardy and the Empire of the West upon Charles the Great, King of France. Hitherto the same Bishops, for the same causes, had troubled the Empire of the West with Civill dissensions, till at last Italy (as I said) having bought liberty of the Emperours, and the said German Emperours containing themselves at home, (for no Emperour after the said Rodulphus of Habsburg, but onely Lodwick the Bavarian, did ever leade any Army into Italy), they now thought good to rage no more against this dejected Empire, but rather to cherrish it, converting themselves wholly to bring all Christian Kings under their yoke. And now the Turkish Emperours began to threaten ruine to the German Empire, and in very Germany, the Popes stage, where they had plaied their bloody parts, by continuall raising of civill warres, the reformation of Religion began freshly to spring, and to pull the borrowed plumes of the Popes. Therefore the Emperours from that time to this our age, have been wholly busied in resisting the Turkes, and composing the domesticall differences of Religion.

And from the same time forward, the Court of Rome was continually distracted with the factions of France and Spaine, till the Popes, skilfull to use the ambitious discussions of Princes to their owne profit and greatnesse, made them all subject to the Romane yoke. And the Kings on the contrary laboured nothing more, then to have the Pope on their party, at whose beck all Christendome was governed, to which end they gave large bribes to the Cardinals, who had now assumed to themselves the [III.iv.183.]

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

election of the Popes. To conclude, the Popes to make their owne power transcendent, kept the power of the Princes in equal ballance, by sowing dissentions among them, and favouring now one now the other party, till for feare of the reformed Religion now also springing in France, they could no longer keepe this equality, but were forced to forsake the Kings of France distracted with civill warres, and to advance the Kings of Spaine, as protectors of the Church, whose Clients at last got the power to governe all things in Rome at their pleasure: And the Spaniard at this time distracted abroad with the French and English warres, and besieged at home with the power of the Jesuites and religious men, seemed lesse to bee feared by the Romans in that respect, as likewise the Kings of Spaine doubted not to maintaine the awfull authority of the Popes, which they knew must alwayes be favourable to their designes, as well for the protection which they gave to the Roman Church, against the reformed Religion, as for that the massy gold of Spaine, bore so great sway in the Colledge of the Cardinals, that by strange successe, the Popes lesse inclined to the Spanish faction, were soone taken away by untimely death. To omit many other, I will onely mention Pope Sixtus Quintus, who lived happily in that Chaire, so long as he favoured Spaine, but assoone as he was thought to decline from that faction, and when he saw a white Mule presented him for the tribute of the Neapolitane Kingdome, was said to weepe, that so little a Mule should be given for so great a Kingdome: he lived not long after, but suddenly vanished away. At Rome are two Images called Pasquin and Marphorius, upon which libels use to be fixed: And of late when the Pope by the mediation of the King of France, had made peace with the Venetians, contrary to the liking of the King of Spaine, a white sheete of paper was fixed on Pasquin, and another demanding what that paper ment was fixed on Marphorius, and a third paper was fixed on Pasquin, answering, that the cleane paper was for the Pope to make his last Will and Testament, as if

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he could not live long, having offended the Spanish faction. Yet in our age the Kings of France, after the civill warres appeased, beganne to recover their former power in the Roman Court: but I leave these things as somewhat straying from my purpose, and returne to the affaires of Germany.

In the said Family of Austria, the Western Empire hath growne old and weake, by little and little from that time to this our age: For howsoever the Emperor Charles the fifth of the said Family, heire to eight and twenty Kingdomes, in respect hee was borne at Gant in Netherland, and so reputed a German, was chosen Emperour in the yeere 1519, by the Electors, rejecting the King of France Francis the first, as a stranger, and at that time the power of this Emperour seemed fearefull to the Italians, at the first blush: yet the Pope of Rome in the Triumvirall warre of England, France, & Spaine, did with such art support the weaker part, and by contrary motions in one and the same cause, so favoured now one, now the other side, and so dispenced with the breaking of oathes on the part they tooke, as while the power of these Kings was weakned by mutuall warres, Italy in the meane time received small or no damage. True it is, that Charles the fifth by subtile art and open force, had almost subdued Germany distracted by dissentions of religion, & had almost brought the free Empire into the forme of a subdued Province, till Mauritius Elector of Saxony, obtained helpe of the King of France Henry the second, who came with a great Army to the confines of the Empire, professing himselfe the Champion of the Germane liberty. At which time Mauritius besieging Magdeburg with the Emperours army, received that City into the protection of the Empire and of himselfe, and lest he might seeme to deale perfidiously with the Emperour, if he should assaile him with forces under his owne pay, dismissed the whole Army, yet so, as himselfe presently entertained in his owne pay the greatest part thereof, willing to serve him: And with these forces he

*The House of  
Austria.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[III.iv.184.]

so speedily came to Insprucke, where the Emperour then lay, as his sudden repaire made the Emperour hastily flie out of the Empire into Italy. Thus Mauritius caused the captive Princes of the reformed religion to be set at liberty, gave peace to the reformed religion, and restored liberty to the oppressed Empire: And howsoever he cunningly had advanced himselfe and his posterity, by the dejection of his owne kinsemen suffering for the reformed religion and for the liberty of the Empire, yet he repaired the publike losses of his Religion, and of his Countrey. But they who more judicially observed the affaires of this age, confesse that nothing hath more kept the house of Austria from subduing the West, then those of the same House. For the foresaid confident proceeding of Mauritius, was caused by the distrusts and jealousies betweene Charles the fifth and his brother Ferdinand, springing from the following cause, namely that Charles the elder brother, to the end that he might keepe the Empire in his own Family, had caused his brother Ferdinand, at Colen in the yeere 1531, to be chosen King of the Romans, (so they call him that is chosen in the Emperours life to succeed him) hoping that when his sonne Philip should come to age, his brother for some increase of his patrimony, would be induced to surrender his right in the Empire: But Ferdinand at this time having had large offers made him to resigne the same, could not be induced to doe that wrong to his children: And because he suspected that Charles the Emperor might force him thereunto, he is said to have gladly borne the adverse fortune of his said brother, and all troubles rising against him, yea, (if men of experience may be beleaved) to have himselfe encouraged Mauritius to the foresaid attempt. Therefore Charles failing of his hope, and for age and wearinesse of the World, retiring himselfe to a private life in a Monastery of Spaine, in the yeere 1558, his brother Ferdinand tooke possession of the Empire, which remaineth to this day in his posterity, the Electors alwayes using to respect the right of blood, in choosing

## OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

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the new Emperour. And under their poore estate and unwarlike mindes, the Empire at this day languisheth like a sparke lapped in ashes: And the Popes held for Gods upon earth, have no more feared the Emperors authority, but rather supported it against the reformed religion, and the invasions of the Turks, the Emperors alwayes acknowledging this unprofitable servant of their Progenitors for their Benefactor and spirituall Father. The Emperour Rodolphus at this time living, is of the House of Austria, whose pedigree I will set downe. The first Family of the House of Austria gave many Emperours to Germany, but that was extinguished in Conradine the sonne of Fredericke, few yeeres before Rodolphus of Habsburg, came to the Empire, who is the roote of this second Family of Austria.

*The  
Emperours  
pedegree.*

[Rodolphus

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# FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Rodulphus of Habsburg, of the House of Austria, was chosen Emperour in the yeere 1273.

Albert the first, Heire of the Dukedomes of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, (after his Father had subdued the Kingdome of Bohemia, & joynd it to the Empire), was chosen Emperour, and dyed in the yeere 1308.

Rodulphus  
Duke of Austria died in the  
yeare 1308.

Fredericke  
made Duke of  
Suevia and  
Moravia by  
the Emperours  
gift, dyed in  
the yeare 1330.

Leopold  
Duke of Austria.

Albert the  
second, Count  
of Tyroll by  
the Marriage  
of his Sonne to  
the Niece of  
the King of  
Bohemia, died  
in the yeare  
1359.

Albert the third, Duke of Austria, died in the yeare 1395.

Leopold the second, Duke of Austria, died in the yeare 1386.

Albert the fifth, Emperour, and by marriage of the Daughter of the Emperour Sigismond, made King of Hungaria and of Bohemia, died in the yeare 1439.

Fredericke proscribed in the Counsell at Constantia, died in the yeere 1440.

Ernestus of Iron, died in the yeere 1435.

Ladislavus.

Fredericke the third, Emperour died in the yeare 1493.

Sigismond dyed in the yeere 1497.

Ladislavus Posthumus, King of Bohemia (under George Pochibraccius his Tutor), and King of Hungary, (under John Huniades Tutorage) died in the yeere 1457.

Fredericke.

# OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

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Maximilian the first, Emperour, after the death of Mathias King of Hungary, recovered that Kingdom, which he had usurped, then retaining to himselfe the right of succession, yielded it to Ladislaus, and marrying the daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy made that Dukedome, and all the Provinces of Netherland hereditary to the House of Austria. He died in the year 1519.

Margaret governed Netherland and died in the year 1530.

Philip marrying the Daughter of Ferdinand King of Spaine, became Heire to those Kingdomes, and died young before his Father, in the year 1506.

Charles the fifth, Emperour, died in the yeere 1558.

By his Wife Isabella, daughter to the King of Portugall.

By Jone his concubine.

Four Daughters, Elinora married to Francis the first, King of France, died ann. 1558. Isabel, wife to the King of Denmarke, died ann. 1525. Mary, wife to the King of Hungary, & after governing Netherland, died ann. 1558. Catherine, wife to the King of Portugall.

Ferdinand Emperour after the unhappy death of Lodovicus King of Hungary, in a battell against the Turkes, in the year 1526, by the right of his wife, sister and heire to Lodovicus, & the said contract made by Maximilian I., Emperour, was crowned King of Hungary, and also by his said wives right K. of Bohemia, & died anno 1564.

Charles, by his Wife.

By his concubine. Maximilian



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# FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

By his concubine. Maximilian

Charles, by his Wife.

Don Juan, Victor  
of the Turks in na-  
val fight, dying an.  
1578.

Two Sisters, Mary, wife to the  
Emperour Maximilian the second;  
and Jone, wife to the King of Por-  
tugall.

Ferdinand  
died an  
Infant.

Philip,  
King of  
Spaine

Charles Den-  
tatus, by Marie  
of Portugall,  
by his Fathers  
permission, put  
to death by the  
Inquisition  
anno, 1568.

By Anne of Austria.  
(Ferdinand  
died a  
child.  
James died  
of nine  
yeares of  
age.

Two sisters,  
Catherin-borne  
of Isabella of  
Valois, wife to  
the Duke of  
Savoy; and  
Isabella Clara  
Eugenia wife to  
arch-Duke Al-  
bert, and borne  
of Anne of  
Austria.

Philip King of  
Spaine, borne of  
Anne of Aus-  
tria in the yeare  
1578.

This is the first Family of the Archdukes of Austria, to this day reigning in Spaine.

Maximilian the second,  
Emperor, married to Mary,  
sister to Philip King of Spaine,  
died anno 1576.

Five sisters, Elizabeth  
married to the King of Pol-  
and, died an. 1545; Anne  
wife to the Duke of Bavaria;  
Marie wife to the Duke of  
Cleve. Magdalen unmarried;  
and Catherine wife to the  
Duke of Mantua, and after  
to the King of Poland.

Ferdinand of Ispruck, so  
called of that Citie, wherein  
he holds his Court. Hee  
married the daughter of the  
Duke of Mantua, by whom  
he had some daughters, but  
no heire male. But by a  
Citizens daughter of Augs-  
burg his wife, hee had two  
sonnes.

John died a childe.

Sixe sisters, Leonora, wife  
to the Duke of Mantua.  
Barbara, wife the Duke of  
Feraria. Margareta, Ursula,  
Helena, and Joanna.

Charles of Gratz, so called  
of that City where he held  
his Court. Hee is the fourth  
sonne of the Emperour Fer-  
dinand by Marie, the daughter  
of the Duke of Bavaria. Hee  
begat twelve children, and  
dying in the yeere 1519, left  
two sonnes, besides divers  
daughters.

# OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

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Charles Marques  
of Burgh.

Ferdinand  
zu Gratz.

Andrew a  
Cardinall.

This is the third Family of the  
Arch-Dukes, called of Ispruch, the  
Citic wherein they live.

This is the fourth Family  
of the Arch-Dukes of Aus-  
tria, called Zu Gratz, of  
that City wherein they hold  
their Court.

Ferdinand died a childe in the  
yeare 1552.

Rodulp 2 of that name, and the  
eighth Emperour of this Family,  
chosen King of the Romans,  
1575, Emperour 1576. succeed-  
ing King of Hungarie, 1572,  
King of Bohemia 1575. Hee  
was at this time Emperor, and  
lived unmarried.

3. Sonne Ernestus governed  
Netherland, and died unmarried.

4. Matthew, unmarried.

5. Maximilian, unmarried.

6. Albert surrendered his  
Cardinals Hat, married Isabel  
daughter to the K. of Spaine,  
and governes Netherland, but  
hath no children.

7. Wenceslaus. 8. Fredericke.  
9. Carolus, al three died yong.

Four sisters, Anna, married to  
the King of Spaine, anno 1563,  
died anno 1580. Elizabeth  
married to Charles the 9, King  
of France, anno 1570. Mary &  
Margaret died yong.

This is the second Family of the Arch-Dukes of Austria, to this day succeeding  
in the Empire of Germany.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

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1605-17.  
*The house of  
Austria.*

Thus I have shewed, that besides the branch of the House of Austria now reigning in Spaine, there remaine three branches thereof in Germany, the first of the Emperour Rodolphus and his brethren Ernestus (dying in his life time) Mathias and Maximilianus and Albertus, Whereof foure lived unmarried, the fifth named Albertus hath long been married, but hath no child. The second branch is that of Ferdinand of Ispruch, who married Philippina the daughter of a Citizen in Augsburg, whereupon his kinsmen disdaining that his ignoble Issue should enherit with them, forced him to agree, that the County of Tyroll should not descend upon his sonne, whereupon his eldest sonne by her named Charles, possesseth onely the City and territory of Burgh, (which was in his Fathers power to give) with title of the Marquesse of Burgh, and the said County at the Fathers death fell backe to the Emperour. His second sonne Andrew Cardinal of Brixia, besides the spirituall possessions of that County, hath also [III.iv.187.] the Bishopricke of Costnetz in Suevia: But Ferdinand, of his second wife daughter to the Duke of Mantua, had some daughters, but no heire male. The third branch is of Charles of Gratz, who besides his heires males, left eight daughters, whereof one is now married to Sigismund King of Poland by election, and of Suecia by inheritance, the second to the Prince of Transilvania, the third to Philip King of Spaine.

*The  
Emperours  
Dominions.*

The Emperour by right of his owne inheritance, (not of the Empire) is Lord of many and large Provinces, namely, King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, with the annexed most fertile Provinces, of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Also towards the Alpes he hath by Inheritance many large Provinces, gotten by his Progenitors, (as appeares by his Pedegree), namely, the Arch-Dukedome of Austria, the Provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyroll, and other large territories in Suevia and Alsatia, besides great jurisdictions among the Sweitzers called the Grysons.

*Bohemia.*

Ferdinand the Emperour, brother to the Emperour Charles the fifth, married the sister and heire of Lodovicus

## OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

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King of Hungary and Bohemia, and after the unhappy death of Lodovicus, killed in the field by the Turkes, in the yeere 1526, was chosen King of Bohemia, which Kingdome with the Empire, descended to his heires. And this Kingdome is exempted from the Parliaments and Contributions of Germany, by a priviledge granted by Charles the fourth Emperour, and King of Bohemia, of whom the Germans complaine, as more respecting Bohemia then the Empire. In which point he is lesse to be taxed, because howsoever that Kingdome freely elects their Kings, yet the heire is therein alwaies respected before any other, and being an Infant, yet is commonly chosen King, with a Tutor for his Nonage. The three States of Barrons, Knights, and Citizens, chuse the King; but Ferdinand the Emperour in his life time, caused his sonne Maximilian to be chosen King. In like manner this Emperour Rodolphus was chosen King of Bohemia, and also King of Hungaria, while his Father lived: And howsoever he being unmarried, hath lesse care of his Successour, yet custome and the publike good have such force, as Bohemia seemes hereditary to the House of Austria, either for feare of so great a Family bordering upon the Kingdome, or because they justly triumph to have the Emperours seate at Prage, the cheefe City of Bohemia, especially since no Prince out of that Family is able to beare the burthen of the Empire, if they observe the Law, binding the Electors to chuse an Emperour among the Princes borne in Germany. As the said three States chuse the King, so they chuse a Viceroy for life, to governe the Kingdome at the Kings death, and to be one of the Electors as King of Bohemia, at the choyce of the Emperour, dead in the same person. Yet commonly before this time, wherein the unmarried Emperour neglects the succession, the Germans were wont while the Emperour lived, to chuse his successor, intituled King of the Romans: At this time the Baron of Rosenburg was Viceroy of Bohemia for life, who held his Court neere Lintz upon the confines of Austria, and was said to have



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the keeping of the Kings Crowne, in a Castle called Carlstein.

*Hungary.*

Touching Hungary, it had the name of the people called the Hunns, who under their King Geysa, received the Christian Religion: his sonne Stephen was chosen King in the yeere 1002, from whom in order many Kings have beene chosen, so as due respect was alwayes had of the eldest sonnes to the deceased, who sometimes refused, did stirre up civill warres. King Andrew about the yeere 1230, first gave great priviledges to the Nobility, which their Kings to this day have used to confirme, as soone as they were elected. King Vladislaus in the yeere 1490, first joyned the Kingdomes of Bohemia and Hungary together, whose sonne Lodovicus perished in the unhappy battell against the Turkes in the yeere 1526: At which time Ferdinand of the House of Austria, brother to the Emperor Charles the fifth, and successor to him in the Empire, was chosen King of Hungary, as well by the covenant which the Emperour Maximilian the first made with Mathias Huniades, as by the right of his wife, being sister and heire to the said Lodovicus, and he caused his sonne Maximilian the second, to bee chosen King in his life time, as his sonne Rodolphus at this time Emperour, was chosen King while his Father lived: and under them, through civill dissensions, and the fearefull neighbourhood of the great Turke, great part of this Kingdome hath beene subdued by that Tyrant, and for the rest, the Emperour Rodolphus, to the great reproch of the Empire, was forced to send yeerely tribute to Constantinople, till the free Cities of Germany slacking to pay this tribute, the Great Turke tooke that wished occasion to make warre against the Christians, and finding none weaker to resist him then the Emperour, hath in our age horribly wasted Hungary, and subdued the greatest part of that Kingdome. The said tribute was said to be seven tunnes of gold each three yeeres, as I have heard by grave and learned men, but I know not how conversant in matters of State.

[III. iv. 188.]

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Rodolphus the Emperour was of a middle stature, somewhat corpulent, with a ruddy but sower countenance, a short thicke beard, and browne coloured haire: At that time mourning for his dead sister, he wore blacke garments of small price: Hee was said to love solitarinesse, and to exercise the Arts of Alchumy and Painting. Hee was most easie of accesse, and very affable, so as every man spake to him with small reverence, and in the Chamber of Presence the Courtiers and strangers gave no reverence to the Chaire of Estate, the Sword, and the Scepter, but stood by with their heads covered, yea, laid their hands or leaned upon the cushion, without any ceremony of reverence. He was esteemed sparing of speech, and liberall in his nature, so as he rewarded his Courtiers honourably, though slowly, for want of money, which made him not able to shew any magnificence. Nothing was more common in every mans mouth, as well German as Bohemian, then that hee was much addicted to the warfare of Venus, bearing in his body strange scarres and privy maimes thereof, but abhorred from the warre of Mars.

*The  
Emp  
his*

At Vienna I did see Ernestus and Mathias, brothers to the Emperour, eating at one Table together, for they admit all subjects and strangers to come into the roome where they eate, at the times of dinner and supper. Before the Arch-Dukes came in, all stood with their heads covered: Then the Carver making himselfe ready to serve at the Table, laid his hat upon the Chaire of Estate, contrary to our English manner, who give reverence to that Chaire, though our Princes be absent. When the Arch-Dukes sate downe at Table, all the standers by bended their knees: They both sat on one side, with their backs to the wall, and each had a Foole to stand by him, one at the Tables end, another on the opposite side, to whom with their owne hands they gave largely to eate, which they greedily devoured. The two Arch-Dukes did both together feede on spoonemeates: For other dishes liking either of them, each called for them by a becke or

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dumbe signe, and so refused other: but if any one dish liked them both, it was first set before Ernestus, and after before Mathias. Both had one taster, but each had his Cupbearer. They spake not a word one to the other, or to any attending; and Ernestus did swallow his drinke, Mathias did sip it. Ernestus was somewhat like the Emperour his brother, save that his haire was blacker, and his countenance more warlike. Mathias was very slender with a more effeminate face, and a thinne or no beard, and whitish haire: Their apparrell was nothing lesse then sumptuous. These brothers of the Emperour, had no possessions of inheritance allotted unto them, but were content to have their expences borne by the Emperour.

Many Pensioners lived in the Emperours Court, but few had diet and lodging therein. The Emperour had one hundred Hascheres, to whom hee gave for diet to each twelve Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and for apparrell to each foure & twenty Guldens by the yeere. Hee had one hundred for his Guard (called Trabantoës), of which each one had eight Guldens by the moneth for his diet, and if any one of them had served ten yeeres, to him the Emperor used to give a pension above his wages, granted for life, and to dispose them in Monasteries when they grew olde and unfit for service. Ten Hascheres and twelve Trabantoës attended each day, and watched the night in the Court, who for that time had at the Emperours charge plenty of bread and wine. Many Gentlemen had pensions to keepe Horses, to the number of some 1500, and for each Horse they were allowed ten guldens by the moneth: but these stipends being paid  
[III.iv.189.] but once in two yeeres, and then not fully, they kept not these Horses at all times in full number, but only when they heard that the payment was like to be made, & because they were so paid, the officers never mustred them but at that time. Some few had diet and lodging in the Court, as 6 Gentlemen of the Chamber, whereof each had a pension of forty Guldens by the moneth, and sixe under

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them, who had twenty Guldens by the moneth. Likewise sixty Truxes, who had each a Pension of thirty Guldens, and sixty Horsemen called Hofdiener (that is, Servants at Court), who were allowed for each horse (as I formerly said) ten Rhenish Guldens by the moneth, and no man had allowance for more then three horses. Likewise a Master of the Wardrobe had twenty Guldens, and a Controuler had the like pension. Sixteene Boies, the sonnes of Gentlemen were Pages to the Emperour, to whom he gave apparrell and diet in the Court. The very chiefe Counsellors had yeerely pensions from the Emperour. He had three Favorites, a Bohemian Barron of the Popells, the Lord of Firstemburg a German, and Rumpf a Gentlemen of Austria, who was in chiefe grace with him, and was said to have a pension of five hundred Dollors by the moneth, and to have received by gift in the space of one yeere eighty thousand gold Guldens. The wages and pensions were very uncertainly paid, so as the Courtiers used diligently to observe, when the revenew of any Province was brought in, that by such opportunitie they might get part of the money due to them. But when the Emperours cofers were full, these paiments were easily obtained, so as I have knowne forty thousand Dollors distributed for wages, and Pensions at one time. The Emperour had five stables, and in one sixtie heavy horses of Germany, in the second twenty Spanish Genets, and in the other three 60 forraigne horses of the best races.

From Charles the Great the Westernne Emperors were either appointed by the dying Emperours Testament, or chosen by the generall consent of the Princes, in both which courses the next heyres were commonly preferred, till the reigne of Otho 3. In his time his Kinsman Brenno a Saxon was chosen Pope, taking the name of Gregorie, and he first instituted the seven Electors of the Emperour, which institution some attribute to Pope Silvester. But whether Gregorie made this Law or confirmed it, no doubt about the yeere 1002 the Electors were

*The  
Emperors  
Election.*



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established, about which time many tumults were at Rome betweene the Emperours and the Roman Prince Crescentius, for the choise of the Pope, and the common opinion is, that Pope Gregorie in the yeere 997 made this Law of seven Electors to chuse the Emperour, and that Pope Silvester restrained it to certaine Families. And this Institution seemed to give great strength to the Empire, since the former seditions were thereby taken away, and it was likely these Princes would chuse a man of the greatest vertues and power. But Charles the fourth chosen Emperor, with condition not to meddle with Italy, first obtained of the Electors to chuse his son to be Cæsar in his life time, and so made this Institution of no effect, all Emp. after him chiefly laboring as much as they could, to make the Empire hereditary by like meanes. And the successor thus chosen in the life of the Emp. was called King of the Romans, and after his death receiving the Crowne, was stiled Emp.

*The institution  
of the Electors,  
and diuers  
constitutions of  
the Empire,  
concerning the  
Electors and  
other Officers,  
and the  
Emperor  
himselfe.*

Of the Electors, 3 are Churchmen and Arch-bishops, 3 are Lay-Princes of Germany, and least by faction of sixe Churchmen and Laymen the voices should be equall, the King of Bohemia was added for the seventh Elector. The Archbishop of Trier, Chauncellor for France, sits before the Emperour. The Archbishop of Mentz Chansellor for Germany, sits at the Emperors right hand, in all places but in the Diocesse of Colon, where he gives place to the Archbishop therof. The Archbishop of Colon Chancelor for Italy, sits on the Emperors right hand in his own dioces, but on his left hand in al other places. The K. of Bohemia Arch-butler of the Empire, sits next the Archbishop of Mentz, on the right hand of the Emperor. The D. of Saxony, the Marshal of the Empire, carrying the sword before the Emperor, sits on his left hand next the Archbishop of Colen. The Count Palatine of the Rheine carries the first dish at the feast of the Emp. coronation, and sits on his right hand next the K. of Bohemia. And the Marquisse of Brandeburg Great Chamberlaine, sits on the left hand of the Emp.

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next to the D. of Saxony. It is to be remembred that for long time, the Emperour having been also King of Bohemia, to the end that upon the death of the old Emperour, there should not be wanting one to supply the place of the King of Bohemia at the Election of the new Emperour, the Bohemians have alwaies a Viceroy chosen for life, who not onely supplies that place, but also governes Bohemia, till the new Emperour be chosen, and after received for King at Prage. [III.iv.190.]

The Emperour Charles the fourth, made many Lawes concerning the Emperour, and the Electors, which Lawes are all collected together, and by the Germans called the Golden Bulla, and it will not be impertinent to remember some of them. It is decreed, that no Elector shall lie in ambushment for another Elector, comming to chuse the Emperour, neither shall denie him safe conduct through his Country, under the paine of perjurie, and losse of his Voyce for that Election. Under the same penalty, that no man whosoever, lye in waite to intercept the person or goods of any Elector: That the Arch-Bishop of Ments shall appoint the day of the Election by letters Pattents, so as the Electors, or their Deputies having full power, may meete for that purpose at Franckfort upon the Meyne, within three moneths, and if the Archbishop faile to appoint the day, yet that the Electors uncalled, shall meete there within that time. That no Elector nor Depute shall enter the City attended with more then two hundred horsemen, nor above fiftie of them armed. That the Elector or Deputy called, and not comming, or departing before the Emperour be chosen, shall loose his Voyce for that time. That the Citizens of Franckfort, if they protect not those that come to the Election, shall be proscribed, and deprived of their priviledges and goods. That no man be admitted into the Citie, besides the Electors and their Deputies, and the horsemen attending them. That the next morning early after their entry, Masse bee sung in the Church of Saint Bartholmew, and that done, the Archbishop of Mentz at the Altar give an

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*The oath to  
the Electors.*

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oath to the Electors in these words: I N.N. sweare by the faith that I owe to God and the sacred Empire, that I will chuse a temporall Head of Christian Princes, and give my Voyce without any covenant, stipend, reward, or any such thing howsoever it may be called, as God helpe me, &c. That if they shall not agree of the Election within thirty daies, they shall eate bread and water, and shall not goe out of the City, till the Election be finished. That the greater part bee held for a generall consent. That the Elector slackning his comming, shal notwithstanding be admitted, if he come before the Election be finished. That the person elected shal presently sweare in the royall name of King of the Romans, to the Electors, Princes Secular and Spirituall, and to all the Members of the Empire, that hee will confirme all priuiledges, customes, &c.; and that after his Coronation hee shall sweare the same in the name of Emperour. That an Elector shall have his Voyce in the choice of himselfe to be Emperor. That the Arch-bishop of Mentz shall aske the Voyces, first, of the Arch-bishop of Trier, then of the Arch-bishop of Colon, then of the King of Bohemia, then of the Palatine, then of the Duke of Saxony, then of the Marquis of Brandeburg, and lastly that these Princes shall aske the Voyce of the Arch-bishop of Mentz. That the Empire being vacant, the Count Palatine shall bee Provisor of the Empire in Suevia and Franconia, as well in Judgements, as in conferring Church-livings, gathering of Rents, investing of Vassals (which investing notwithstanding is to bee renewed by the Emperour when he is chosen), and Alienations, &c. That the Duke of Saxony shall have the same right in his Provinces. That when the Emperour must answer any cause he shall answer before the Palatine, so that be in the Imperiall Court. That no man in the Court shal sit above the Electors. That to a Secular Prince Elector his eldest Lay son shall succeed, or for want of sons, the first of the fathers Line; and if he be under age, that the eldest brother to the deceased father shall be his tutor, till hee be eightcene

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yeares old, and that this Tutor for that time shall have all his right, which he shall then restore to him, and for want of heires males, that the Emperour shall give the Electorship to whom hee will, excepting the King of Bohemia, who is to bee chosen by the Bohemians. That mines of mettals found in the Territories of any Elector, shall bee proper to himselfe. That the subjects of the Electors shall not bee bound to answere the Law out of their owne Province, nor may appeale to any Court but their Lords, except Justice bee denied, in which case they shall onely appeale to the Chamber of the Empire. That [III. iv. 191.] the Electors shall meete in some Citie once in the yeare, where they shall have no feasting, to the end that the causes may be heard with more expedition. That the priviledges of Cities and Universities in any thing derogating from the right of the Electors, shall be revoked, and made voide, notwithstanding the Letters Pattents may except all eminency of persons. That the resignation of fees, except they be personally made, shall make the vassals infamous in denouncing enmity to their Lords. That conventicles of Cities, made to the prejudice of their Lords, shall be punished with losse of fame, goods, and priviledges. That no Citizens subjects to Princes, and incorporating themselves in free Cities, shall enjoy the priviledges thereof, except they dwell there, under a great penalty to bee imposed on the City receiving them with any other condition. That the Fees of the Electors or Officers of the Empire, shall not be devided by their heires. That they who conspire the death of any Elector, shall be guilty of treason, and their sonnes deprived of their Inheritance even from the mothers side, shall live infamous, and they shall be noted who make intercession to restore them to grace; but that the Daughters lesse daring for the weakenesse of the sexe, shall have part of the inheritance, and that no enfranchisement of sonnes, or alienation of goods, shall frustrate this Law. That all accessaries shall be so punished, onely he that bewrayes the conspiracy may bee held worthy of



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pardon. Also this penalty shall be of force against those that are dead, if the crime be not knowne till after their death.

*At Coronation  
and like  
Feasts.*

In solemne Court, that the Emperour shall sit in his throne, and the Duke of Saxony laying an heape of Oates as high as his Horses saddle, before the Court gate, shall with a silver measure of twelve markes price, deliver Oates to the cheefe Quirry of the stable, and then sticking his staffe in the Oates, shall depart, and the Vice-Marshal distribute the rest of the Oates. That the three Arch-bishops shall say grace at the Emperours Table, and he of them who is Chancelor of the place, shall lay reverently the Seales before the Emperor, which the Emperor shal restore to him, & that the staffe of the Chancelorship shal be worth 12 marks of silver. That the Marquis of Brandeburg, sitting upon his Horse with a silver basen of 12 marks weight, & a towel, shall light from his Horse, & give water to the Emperor. That the Count Palatine sitting upon his Horse, with foure dishes of Silver with meate, each dish worth 3 markes, shall light, and set the dishes on the table. That the King of Bohemia sitting upon his Horse, with a silver Cup worth twelve markes, filled with water and wine, shall light, and give it the Emperour to drinke. The Gentleman of Falkenstein, under-Chamberlaine, the Gentleman of Nortemberg, Master of the Kitchen, and the Gentleman of Limburch Vice-Buttler, or in their absence, the ordinary Officers of the Court, shall have the said Horses, Bason, dishes, Cup, Staffe, and measure, and shall after wait at the Emperours table. That the Emperours table bee sixe foote higher then any other table, where he shall sit alone, and the table of the Empresse shall be by his side, three foote lower. The Electors tables shall be three foote lower then that of the Empresse, and all of equall heighth, and three of them shall bee on the Emperours right hand, three on his left hand, and one before his face, and each shal sit alone at his table. When one Elector hath done his Office, he shall goe and stand at his owne table, and so

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in order the rest, till all have performed their Offices, and then all seven shall sit downe at one time. The Emperour shall be chosen at Franckfort, crowned at Aquisgranum (vulgarly called Ach), and shall hold his first Court at Nurnberg, except there be some lawfull impediment. The Deputy of an Elector absent, howsoever he hath his voyce in chusing the Emperour, yet at the said feast shall not sit at the Electors table. Princes receiving their fees, shall pay sixtie markes to the Officers of the Court, excepting the Electors, who are not bound to give any thing, but of free will, since the Officers are their Substitutes, and the Horse upon which the Prince sits when hee is invested in his fees, shall bee given to the Marshall, or to the Vice-Marshall. The Electors are presumed to bee Germans, and their sonnes at the age of seven yeares shall bee taught the Grammer, and the Italian and Sclavonian tongues, so as at 14 yeares of age they may be skilfull therein, and be worthy Assessors to the Emperour. These things for this purpose, taken out of the Golden Bull, shall suffice. [III.iv.192.]

Touching the present generall estate of the Empire. The Emperour & his brethren were not much esteemed among their owne subjects, and had little or no authority in the rest of the Empire. The Germans confesse, that the House of Austria is most fit to beare the burthen of the Empire, especially since no stranger may be Emperour, the Law binding to choose a Prince borne in Germany; and because the Empire hath no principality belonging to it, nor any certaine revenues, but onely some accustomed Subsidies, which upon some occasions were of old granted by Parliament, & these occasions being taken away, the subsidies for them have also in latter times beene discontinued, so that the common affaires are to be administred with the charge of the Emperours priyate inheritance. And lastly, because they justly feare, if any other Prince of Germany should be chosen Emperour, that the House of Austria, having in a long line succeeded in the Empire, and possessing large Dominions by inheritance, would

*The generall  
estate of the  
Empire.*

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either altogether separate it selfe from the Empire, or at least their inheritance in Hungary, Germany, and Bohemia, through mutuall dissentions betweene them and the Emperour, would be a prey to the Turkish Tyrant, onely kept backe by the House of Austria, according to the weake meanes it hath, from invading Germany at this day: But when the Germans doe particularly observe the persons of the Princes of the House of Austria, they judge againe none more unfit to beare up the Empire, and to defend it from the Turkes invasions; and this common diffidence is infinitely encreased, by the mutuall jealousies of Germany. There want not jealousies in the House of Austria betweene themselves, were they not forced to compound them by feare of the Turkes. In generall, the Gentlemen feare the conspiracy of the common people, lest after the example of the Sweitzers, they should roote out the Gentry, or at least yeeld either none or voluntary obedience, at their owne pleasure. The Princes feare the free Cities, so as they dare not exact absolute obedience of the Cities subject to them, lest they should thereby be provoked, to make leagues with the free Cities, and so make themselves free: And this cause alone makes the Princes lesse able to give strong helpes to the Emperour, if they were willing to doe it. Againe, the free Cities feare the ambition of the neighbouring Princes: For as most of the Cities of old subject to the Emperour, or to particular Princes, got their freedome in civill warres, by assisting one of the parties, or else by priviledges, granted by favour, or bought for money, or else by open force of armes, so they thinke it likely, that the Princes, upon the change of the state of things, will omit no fit occasion to bring them againe into subjection: And the said Princes doe not onely feare the said free Cities, for combyning with their Subjects, but have also mutuall jealousies among themselves, as well for inheritance, as for the difference of Religion. Lastly all, and each of these states, feare the power of the Emperour, least hee should

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breake the absolute power they have in their owne territories, or least hee should by force of armes make them more obedient to himselfe, or least hee should oppresse them in the cause of Religion, either of his owne motion, or by the instigation of the Pope. Hence it is, that hee who dares not make warre upon the Emperour, yet dares denie to helpe him, and he that dares not deny helpe, yet dares either fayle in performance, or by delayes make it unprofitable. Besides that by nature, the decrees and counsels of many heads, are carried with lesse secrecy, and are seldome executed with convenient speed, and that for which many care, each one neglects, as Plato saith, disputing against community. Also the Emperours power is many other wayes weakened: First that the Germans in the very warre against the Turkes, slowly grant, or plainly refuse any contributions or subsidies, and would little rejoyce that the Emperour should have a great victory against the Turkes, partly least hee should turne his Forces upon the absolute Princes or Cities of Germany, partly least the Emperour then being (as they openly professed) should spend the money contributed in his private lusts, not in the publike affayres, and lastly, because the charge of the Warre should be common, but the profit of the Conquest should onely be to the advancement of the House of Austria: For which [III.iv.193.] causes the Princes and Cities used to denie contributions of money towards the Turkish warres, and rather chose to send and maintaine bands of Souldiers in Hungary, under their owne pay for a set time: And these bands were so commonly sent without order or mutuall consent, and so slowly, as when some of the bands came to the Army, other bands having served out the appointed time, desired leave to returne home. Thus they seldome met together to attempt any brave enterprise, & while part of the forces was expected, the occasions of good adventures were lost: Secondly, the Emperour is more weake; because the meetings of Parliaments (which they call Dyettaes) require the expectance of some moneths, besides



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the delayes of Counsels after the meeting, and the contrariety of opinions, which must needes be great in mindes so ill united. Thirdly; because the Germans unwisely thinke, that the tyranny of the Turkes hanging over them, yet is a lesse and more removed evill, then the jealousie of their private estates, and feare to be oppressed in the cause of Religion. Lastly, because the Germans thinke it not equall, to be at publike charge, to recover the private Cities of the House of Austria from the Turkes. These things make the great power of Germany so weake, that as the whole body pined away, while the hands denied meate to the belly; so not onely the Empire, to the generall shame of Christians, drawes the last breath under the Turkish tyranny, while the disagreeing and sluggish Christian Princes denie helpe in this case to the House of Austria, and oppose the weaker branch of that House to the most powerfull force of the Turkes; but also it may justly be feared lest other Kingdomes and the very name of Christians, should be utterly consumed in this fier daily creeping and increasing upon us, which God in his mercy forbid.

*The state of  
certaine  
Princes.*

Next to the said vassals to the Emperour, a King, a Palatine, a Duke, a Marquesse, and three Archbishops, the seven Electors, of old were instituted foure Dukes of the Empire, namely, the Dukes of Bavaria, of Brunswicke, of Suevia and of Lorayne, and foure Langraves, and of each degree foure, whereof some are at this day extinguished, and many other have since beene created by divers Emperours. In like sort of old were instituted

*Of Cities.*

foure Metropolitan Cities of the Empire, namely, Augsburg, (called of the Vandals for difference), Aquisgranum

*Of Bishops.*

(vulgarly Ach), Mentz, and Lubecke. Bishops spirituall Princes were of old twenty seven in number, whereof some have secular Dominions, onely by habite distinguished from secular Princes: but the Churchmen knowing no meane, not content with tithes, but scarce leaving that portion to the Laymen, have caused Princes first to make Lawes against inordinate guifts to the Church, and

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then by other vanities provoked them to reforme this abundance of their riches, the impurity of their lives, and the falshoods of their Doctrines; so as at this day many Bishopricks are in the hands of secular Princes, within their owne Dominions, under the title of Administrators. In this sort (to passe over the rest) the eldest sonne of the Marquesse of Brandenburg, was in his Fathers life time called the Administrator of Halla. Not onely the Emperour, but also many Princes of Germany, as well secular as spirituall, have Kingly power in their owne Dominions, and these absolute Princes are so many in number, as a passenger in each dayes journey, shall observe one or two changes of Prince, Money, and Religion. Furthermore in free Cities, here the Patritian Order, there the common people, and otherwhere both with mixed power, governe the City, in such absolute freedome, as most of the Cities have regall rights, of making peace or warre, of coyning Monies, and of like priviledges: But the Plebeians among them, prove they never so rich, cannot have any higher degree, and their governements are with such equity, equality, and moderation, as no degree is subject one to the other, but all equally to the Law. Of these Princes secular and spirituall, and of the Deputies for free Cities, meeting in Parliaments (which they cal Diettaes) is the true Image of the Empire, where they deliberate of great affaires, and impose contributions, from which onely the King of Bohemia is free, by priviledge granted from Charles the fourth Emperour and King of Bohemia, as I have formerly said.

*Of secular  
Princes.*

*Of free Cities.*

*Of the  
Diettaes.*

The forme of the Commonwealth in the Empire is Aristocraticall, over which the Emperour should bee as head, appointing the meetings with the consent of the Princes, and causing the Decrees to be put in execution. But at this day the name of the Emperour is become a meere title, and his authoritie hath no sinews, so as he can neither call them if they thinke not good to come, nor decree any thing if they be unwilling, nor compell those

[III. iv. 194.]

*Of the  
Empires  
Common-  
wealth in  
generall.*

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that are refractory. And the very Princes are not constant to their owne judgement, if you respect the imminent dangers from the Turks, nor active in their owne motions concerning the publike cause, but are diversly distracted betweene feare to increase the suspected power of the Emperour by helping him, or to stirre up Civill warres, to the ruine of the dis-united State, by making open opposition to his authority. In the meane time nothing is more frequent with them, then boldly to refuse either appearance in the Emperours Court, or obedience to any other of his commandements, that are displeasing to them. And give me leave to say, that my selfe there observed, that a great Prince of Germany (for good respect namelesse), to whom the Emperour had ingaged certaine Cities for money borrowed of him, when the Emperour sending the money by Ambassadors, desired restitution of the townes, not onely refused to restore the same, but could not bee induced to appeare at Prage by his Substitute, to compound this difference; and it seemed more strange to mee, that divers other Ambassadors comming to the City the same time, had all audience before those from the Emperour, who staid long before they were admitted to speak with the said Prince.

The declining generositie of the Princes of Austria, and the fearefull danger hanging over them from the Turkes, nourish this confidence in the Princes of Germany; and indeede the Turkish warre doth so imploy, or rather bind the hands of the Princes of Austria, as were they never so valiant, yet they should be forced, rather to suffer any thing from these Christian Princes, then by opposing them, to be devoured by Infidels. Neither can the private calamity of Germany, and the publike misery of all Christians in this point, be sufficiently bewailed. I say the private calamitie of Germany, because the members being most strong, if they were united, yet are without sinews thus disjoyned, and have no common force, though in each part they be strong. I say the publike calamity of Christians, because howsoever the private Princes of

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Germany be of great power, yet the whole body of the Empire being weake, the daily victories of the Turkes, threaten destruction not onely to Germany, but to the name of Christians. The Dukes of Florence, of Savoy, and of Mantua, and all the Princes of Italy, whom the Pope hath not drawne to be his vassals, the Dukes of Lorayne, of Burgundy, with divers Dukes and Earles of Netherland, after a sort acknowledge the safe and farre removed patronage of the Emperour; but they neither come to the Parlements about the affaires of the Empire (as not pertaining to them) nor contribute any money to uphold the dignitie thereof, except perhaps sometimes in the common cause of the Turkish warre, they lend the Emperour some mony, which no doubt all other Christian Princes would no lesse doe, who have no bond of subjection. The King of Denmark, by a double bond of his Kingdome and of the Dukedome of Holst, the King of Swetia, the Cantons of the Sweitzers and the Grisons inhabiting the Snowy Alpes, were of old members of the Empire: but in time these Feathers pluckt from the Eagle, have growne into new bodies, and at this day do not at all acknowledge the Emperour.

In Germany the Tolles and Taxes are frequent, as the number of absolute Princes is great, who impose them in their severall Territories upon all passengers, and kinds of Merchandize or very small packs, Schollers of Universities onely excepted, who passe free for their persons and goods. But above all other Princes, the Elector of Saxony (as shall bee shewed in his due place) seemes best to have learned the art of shearing his subjects, so as he not onely imitates, but is equall in this point to the Princes of Italy. Boterus relates, that the Emperour of his owne hereditary dominions, hath the yeerely rent of two thousand five hundred thousand Crownes, and besides exacts five hundred thousand Crownes ordinarily, and as much more by extraordinary means. Men of good credit [III. iv. 195.] have affirmed to me, that the Province of Silesia alone subject to the Emperor as King of Bohemia, yeelds him

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Impositions  
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each quarter of the yeare 60000 gold Guldens or Crownes; by which may bee conjectured what hee receives of his other large Dominions. Yet Silesia yeelds more then any one of the rest, in respect that of the twelve Dukedoms therein contained, eight are fallen to the Emperour, for want of heires males. The Bishop of Silesia is called the Golden Bishop, and the same Province hath thirty Abbies, being most rich in that and all other respects. At Prage, subject to the Emperour, as King of Bohemia, I observed, that every house paid him yeerely three Dollers; but this burthen equally imposed on thatched houses and stately Pallaces, seeming unequally shared, the Citizens agreed among themselves of a more equall division thereof; so as I remember, that my Hosts house, purchased for three hundred Dollers, paid yeerely to the Emperor nine Dollers, besides other charges of maintaining poore Scholers, of Watches, and the like, imposed upon each Master of a Family, in each severall parish, for which he also paid two Dollers yeerely. In the Dominions of the Emperour, the Brewers of Beere for each brewing, paid six dollers to the Emperour, which tribute in one City of Prage, was said to passe five hundred Dollers weekly. Also the Emperour exacted of his subjects, for each Tun of Wine drawne, a Doller, and tenne Grosh; for each bushell of Corne, bought in the Market (not the private Corne of their owne, spent in their houses) one silver Grosh. These and like tributes were at first granted for certaine yeares, by consent of the three Estates: but Princes know well to impose exactions, and know not how to depose them. The Emperour gives a City to the Jewes for their dwelling at Prage, (who are admitted in no City of Germany, excepting onely at Franckfort, where they have assigned to them a Streete for their dwelling), of which Jewes upon all occasions hee borrowes money, and many waies sheares those bloud-suckers of Christians. The Germans impose great taxes upon all forraigne commodities brought into their Havens, and not onely upon mens persons, and upon commodities laded on beasts to

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bee distracted from City to City, but even upon small burthens to be carried on a mans shoulder, as they passe through their Forts or Cities, which they use to build upon their confines to that purpose, and onely Scholers of Universities are free from these frequent exactions, for their bodies and goods.

Touching the revenews of the Empire it selfe, Boterus relates, that it receives yeerely seven thousand thousand Crownes, or gold Guldens; and this renew is of small moment for such great affaires, if hee containe all the Princes of Germany under this taxation, since otherwise a communication of treasure cannot bee expected from so disunited mindes as they have. He addes, that the free Cities of the Empire yeeld a small yeerely tribute to the Emperour of fiftene thousand Guldens. It is wel knowne that those Cities of old custome maintained twenty thousand foote, and foure thousand Horses for the Emperours Army, when he went to be crowned at Rome: but this custome by long discontinuance is vanished, since the Emperours for many ages have forborne this expedition. The matter of greatest moment is the contribution, which for the doubtfull affaires of the Empire hath been accustomed to be granted by the three Estates in Parliament. And these, such as they are, yet are more easily or hardly obtained of that free Nation, as the Emperour hath more or lesse reputation with them. But that it may appeare, that the Empire wants not treasure, the sinew of war, let us gather by one particular example, what may generally be judged of this subsidie. In the time of the Emperour Maximilian the first, the following subsidie was granted in a Dyet or Parliament at Worms by consent of the Estates, for the use of the Common-wealth, and especially for the warre against the Turkes, which at that time much lesse pressed Germany, then it doth in these our daies. First, it was decreed, that for foure yeeres next following, each person of any sex or quality howsoever possessing (through long and broad Germany), or being worth by all meanes 500 gold Guldens, should

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yerely pay half a gold Gulden to this purpose, and each one of lesse value should pay a quarter of a gold Gulden, and all Jewes, as well men as women and children, should pay yearely by the Pole one gold gulden. That Princes & Barons for decency, yet of their free will should contribute much more. And that this collection should be made not onely in the private Dominions of the Emperour, but in the privat Teritories of al Princes, and the mony first delivered to the Superintendents or chiefe Ministers of Gods word, and by them be conveyed to seven Treasurers residing at Franckfort (the first appointed by the Emperour, the second by the Electors, the third by other Princes, the fourth by the Prelates, the fifth by the Earles and Barons, the sixth by the Knights, the seventh by the free Cities), all which were to take their oathes for the faithfull execution of this office. After it was againe decreed in the Diet held at Nurnberg, that for the Turkish warre, each 40 inhabitants (reckoning the husband, wife and children for one person) should maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid-servants should give the sixth part of their yeerely wages, and each one having no wages, should pay a shilling of Germany. That spirituall persons, men and women (that is, Nunnes as well as others) should for each forty Guldens value, pay one gold Gulden, and in like sort the spirituall Orders of Knights, and namely those of Saint John, and all Monasteries and Almes-houses, and whatsoever spirituall communities, should give the like contribution, excepting the foure Orders of Mendicant Friers, of which each five Monasteries were to maintaine one Footeman. That men and maid-servants of Spirituall persons, should pay as much as those of the Layety. That no Elector or Prince should maintaine lesse then five hundred Horses, and each Earle should maintaine one Horseman. That Knights should contribute according to their estates. That the Jewes should pay by the Pole one gold Gulden yearely, the rich paying for the poore. That all Preachers should in the Pulpit exhort men willingly to give these

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contributions, giving hope that they shall bee deminished according to the booties gotten by victories. And that Bishops should make collection of this money, and deliver it over to the Counsellors of the States. Twenty Noble men were at that time chosen to have care of the Commonwealth for matters of peace and warre, who in difficult accidents were to call unto them the sixe Electors (the King of Bohemia in the Emperours person not reckoned), and certaine other Princes. And this must alwaies be understood, that these collections are made in Germany with great severity or strictnesse, where he that dissembles his full wealth, shall be forced to repaire all the damage the Commonwealth hath sustained thereby, and shall bee also deeply fined, when the fraude is made knowne, which at least will appeare at the death of each private man, by his last will and testament. So as these subsidies must needs be of great moment. But the Germans in our daies, though ready to be devoured by the Lawes of the Turkish Tyrant, yet for the above-named causes, very unwillingly grant these contributions, yea, for the very Turkish warre.

The Germans for the said mutuall jealousies, at this day in the greatest Peace at home, yet live as in the time of a Civill warre, at least in common feare of surprising, so as almost in all Cities, they have victuals laid up in Store-houses to beare a yeeres siege; and besides this publike provision, all housholders are commanded to make their private provisions before hand, of dried fishes, corne, and like things to eate, of fewell to burne, and of all necessities to exercise their manuall trades. The Cities have Watchmen continually dwelling with their families on the top of high Steeples and Towers, who by sound of Trumpet, and by hanging out flags of divers colours, one for horsemen, another for footemen, continually give warning what people approach to the Towne, and in what number, and besides these Watchmen are enjoined to sound their Trumpets at certaine howers of the day and night. The very recreations of the Citizens are no other, then shoot-

*Their warlike  
provision in  
time of peace.*



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ing in Pieces and Crosebowes at markes in publike houses, and thus they exercise themselves on Holidiaies and at all idle times, shooting for wagers, both private and publike, and for like rewards and prises. So as they must needes bee thereby much better trained up for warre. Yet their footemen in warre doe not so much use the Piece as the Pike, and their Horsemen contrarie to the custome of other Nations, are generally armed with two short Pistols, not at all with Lances. To conclude, if any man in this time of peace, shoote off a piece within the wals of a Citie, he shall no lesse then in a Towne of Garrison, [III.iv.197.] bee drawne by the Serjeants before the Magistrate, & be sure to pay a mulct for his error.

*Their  
Warfare of  
old.*

Cæsar reports, that the Scawaben (or people of Suevia, a great Province in Germany, most part of upper Germany having been so called of old) were most warlike, yet at the first hearing, so feared the Romans, as some thought to leave their dwellings, some made their last wils, and all mourned and were sad. He reports also, that the halfe part of this people was employed and nourished in Armes, and the other halfe gave themselves to Husbandry, and that so by yeerely course they were one yeere Husbandmen, another yeere Souldiers. That none of them had any private fields, nor dwelt in one place more then a yeere. Lastly, that freedome in youth, and hunting after they came to ripe yeeres, made them of huge stature. Many witnesse, that the Germans of old, in feasting tooke counsell of Peace and Warre, thinking the vigor of the mind then to be most enlarged, when they were warmed with Wine. They were wont to promise their neighbours that they would overcome in fighting, or else die valiantly, and so were led forth to the war with the peoples acclamations, exhorting them to valour, and at their returne were not praised, except they shewed scarres gotten in fighting. It was infamous for any of them to lose his shield, so as many for that cause hanged themselves; for it was not lawfull for them to be present at their Sacrifices or Counsels. Being ready to fight, they called upon

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Hercules, and their Horsemen used Target and Lance, their Footemen Darts. Their Army lay compassed with Chariots and Carts, in stead of trenches. Lastly in Counsels, they signified consent by shaking of their Speares, and dissent by murmuring.

At this day the Horsemen of Germany are vulgarly called schwartz Reytern, that is, blacke Horsemen; not onely because they weare blacke apparrell, but also for that most of them have blacke Horses, and make their hands and faces blacke by dressing them, and by blacking their bootes, wherein they are curious; or else because custome hath made blacknesse an ornament to them; or else because they thinke this colour to make them most terrible to their enemies. For the Germans using more to brawle then fight, and rather to chide, then fight themselves friends, desire rather with fierce lookes to strike feare into their enemies, then by concealing their strength, to draw them to fight. The best Horses and Horsemen are of the Territories of Brunswick, Cleave, and Franconia: but howsoever their Horses are strong, yet they have lesse courage, because they are taken from the Plough, and are of an heavy race. Neither the Horses nor the Horsemen are armed, so as both may easily bee hurt by Footemen. Thus being Light-horsemen, yet are they lesse fit for that service, by reason of their heavy Horses, unapt to follow the enemy flying, or to save themselves by speedy retrait. And this hath often beene observed in their warre against the Turkes, having swift Horses, whom they could neither overtake in flight, nor escape from them, when they pursued. Such and so heavy Horses are throughout all Germany, excepting Westphalia and those parts, where their Waggon are drawne with very little Horses, though perhaps they have greater for service in warre. These Horsemen carry each of them two short pistols at their saddles, with a sword, and like short weapons, but without any Launces, and their saddles are little, such as are commonly used by passengers, not such as our Horsemen use in warre, so as

*Their  
horsemen at  
this day.*

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they may easily bee cast from their Horses, and have the disadvantage, being assayled with Horsemen bearing Lances.

*Their  
footemen at  
this day.*

Their Footemen are vulgarly called Lantzknachten, that is, Servants with Lances, and the best of them are those of Tyroll, Suevia, and Westphalia. Commonly they are corpulent, and of a dull or lesse fiery spirit, yet are of great strength in fighting a battell, by reason of their strong members, and the constant order they use in fighting. And they are armed with Lances most fit for their strength, rather then with Calivers, requiring nimblenesse in charging and discharging.

*Their  
warfare in  
generall at  
this day.*

[III. iv. 198.]

In generall, the Germans willingly heare themselves compared to Bulles: for as Bulles bearing their hornes on the ground, with firme foote attend the assault of the Dogges; so the Germans, neither rush fiercely on their enemies, nor can easily be broken by any charge. The Provinces of Germany being populous, and the souldiers being Mercenary, forraigne Princes commonly supply their Armies with them. And for the faithfulnessse of the Nation, and the strength of their bodies, the Princes of France and Italy willingly entertaine them for the guard of their persons. The Princes of Germany levie souldiers by absolute command, in their owne warres, but onely voluntary men are sent to forraigne warres, which they willingly undertake, out of all mens generall affection to the dissolute liberty of the warres, and because the Germans have ever been mercenary, besides that the pleasant wines of France and Italy draw them to those warres. In our age, the French having had civill warres betweene the Papists and Protestants, both parts have often hired the Germans. And they being for the most part Lutherans, and so hating both parts, as well the Papists, as the Calvinists, (so I call them for distinction, being so termed by their common enemies, though they follow neither Calvin nor Luther further, then they agree with the Word of God); I say that they hating the Papists, and most of all the Calvinists, nearest to them in Religion

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(as the Potter hates the Potter, and the begger hates the begger, and each one his next neighbour, more then any other), and being blamed for serving them, they would freely professe, that it was all one to them, to serve the one devill as the other, (so they called them both.) Thus serving more for booty then for love, they demeaned themselves so frowardly in those warres, as they much impaired the old reputation of their Nation in warfare. The French, I say, having justly no confidence in their owne footemen, for the most part used the Germans (as also the Sweitzers) in that service, and found by experience, that the firme and constant bodie of their foote, was most fit to receive the loose wings of the French, chearefully assaulting, but soone driven backe; and that after the first fury of the French, the body of the Dutch Foote, like the Triarii among the Romans, stood firme. And the great Victory of the French at Ravenna, against the Spaniards and Italians, was in great part attributed to the German Footemen, who received the French Foote, and namely the Guascons (the best Foote of France) into their body, when they were put to flight. But they are most unfit to besiege strong Forts, and have been found no lesse unfit to defend them being besieged; whether it be, for that they are lesse serviceable in things requiring witty resolution, and fury in sudden assaults, then in a firme and constant strength; or for that, contrary to their old reputation, they are not found able in this our age to beare hunger, thirst, cold and watching, the necessary evils of a siege. And it is certaine, that the Netherlanders, using them in this kind, as the course of their war consists, especially in defending and assailing Forts, have taxed them with bitter jeasts on this behalfe, which I willingly passe in silence, desiring more to expresse vertues then to impute vices. Yet the Germans have many very strong and well fortified Cities, of which some are judged impregnable, in which they place greatest hope of safetie from the incursions of the Polonians, or of the Turks. For the Polonians trusting to their famous



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strength of Horse, brag that they despise the force of the Germans in open field, and the Turkish Horse, praised for swiftnesse, seemes not to feare the heavy horses of Germany.

Surely, though I doe not thinke the Germans to degenerate from the valour of their old Progenitors, yet I have read the Histories, and have heard the Gentlemen of France in our time, much inveighing against them: First, that being in neutrall or friends Countries, farre distant from the enemy, they consumed wine and victuals, as if they had been borne to no other end, and spoyled all mens goods: but when the enemy drew neare, that not content with their former spoyles, they would then mutine for pay, and refuse otherwise to fight, when the Princes had no present meanes to satisfie them; yea, and for want of it, would threaten to leave their party, and goe to the enemy, bearing no more affection to the one then the other. Secondly, that in all Armies, wherein their strength was predominant, and especially upon the approach of the enemy, they were prone to threatnings and seditious demeanour. Thirdly, that the horse having given one assault without successe, could by no intreaty, no reward, no hope of victory, be induced to give a second charge. Fourthly, that once put out of order and routed, they could never be gathered againe together. [III.iv.199.] Fifthly, that in the battell of Mountcontour, by confused feare, they had almost exposed themselves and the whole Armie to the sword; and that in the next battell, having the victory, they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but like Beares raged against their yeelding suppliants, stil crying Mountcontour, Mountcontour, for the word of revenge. Lastly, that the levies of them are an excessive charge, that they consume abundance of victuals, and especially wine, and cannot beare with any want of the least of them, and are a great burthen to an Army with their baggage. Touching victuals, I have heard the Citizens of Vienna, being themselves Germans, yet freely professing, that when the Turkes made a shew to besiege

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them, and incamped on one side of the towne, they suffered farre greater losse by the souldiers received into the Towne to helpe them, then by the enemies spoiling all abroad. Touching their baggage, every footeman hath his wench, that carries on her backe a great packe, and a brasse pan, while the souldier himselfe goes empty, carrying nothing but his Armes. And at Strasburg I did see certaine troopes of horse enter the Towne, sent from the Marquis of Brandenburg, to aide the Citizens against the Duke of Lorraine, which horsemen had an unspeakeable number of carts, to carry their Armes and other necessaries, and upon each cart sat a Cocke, which creature, as most watchfull, the Germans have of most old custome used to carry with them to the warres.

I cannot passe in silence the judgement of an Italian well knowne, though by mee unnamed, who because the Germans in our age have had some ill successes in the warre, doth attribute the same to the impurity of the reformed Religion professed by them, wherein he sophistically obtrudes the false cause for the true; not much unlike the old man recorded in our Histories, who being asked (for his age and experience) what he thought to be the cause of Goodwyn sands, neare the mouth of the Thames, answered, that hee thought the building of Tenterton Steeple was the cause thereof, because no such sands were seene, till the time when it was built. Nothing is more manifest, then that the Germans of the reformed Religion, nothing yeeld, or rather much excell, the Germans continuing Papists, in all manuell Arts, Liberrall Sciences, and all indowments of Nature; which may clearely be proved by one instance of the Norenbergers and Sweitzers, professing the reformed Religion, who in all Arts, and the military profession, passe all other Germans whatsoever. Neither am I of the same Italians opinion, who to make the Germans active in warre, thinkes they must have an Italian, or some forraigne Prince for their Generall, which none in the World can lesse indure, since they not onely most willingly heare,

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reade, and obey the Preachers, Authors, and Superiours of their owne Country, but above all other Nations singular in selfe-love, doe also despise all strangers compared with themselves, (though otherwise they be not unhospitall towards them.)

They have one commendable custome, proper to them with the Sweitzers onely, namely, that after a yeeres or longer warfare, they retorne home uncorrupted with the dissolute liberty of the warres, and settle themselves to their manuell trades, and tillage of the ground. The Emperour Charles the fifth did leade against the Turkes an Army of ninety thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. And the Emperour Maximilian the second, did leade against the Turkes an Army of one hundred thousand foote, and thirty five thousand horse. And in the Civill warre betweene the Emperour Charles the fifth, and the Protestants, besides the Emperours Army, consisting partly of Germans, partly of Italians and Spaniards, the Protestant Princes had of their owne Country men an Army of eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. And in all these Armies there was no complaint of any the least want of victuals. So as by these examples it appeares, that the Empire can leavie and nourish a most powerfull Army.

[III.iv.200.] And for better understanding of their warfare, I wil ad the decree of the Emperor & the Electors in the Expedition against the Turks in the yeere 1500. Albert Palatine of the Rheine was confirmed Generall of the Empire, and sixe Counsellors were chosen to assist him. And it was further decreed, that the Generall should not make warre upon any without direction from the Councell of the Empire, then chosen and consisting of sixe spirituall, and sixe temporall Princes, three Abbots, sixe chosen by the people, and eight chosen by the free Cities. That the souldiers should sweare obedience to the General, and he give like oath to the Emperor and the Empire. That the Generall should have the command of three hundreth Horse, with eight Guldens by the moneth allowed for

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each Horse. That the Generall should further have one thousand three hundreth Guldens by the moneth, or more by consent of the Councell. That each Horseman should have eight Guldens by the moneth, and each Footman foure Guldens. That the Generall should have twenty foure for his guard, with five Guldens by the moneth for each of them. That the Generall should have pay for thirty two carts, each cart drawne with foure horses, and allowed two Horsemens pay. That the Generall happening to bee taken by the fortune of the warre, the Empire should readily pay his ransome and redeeme him. That no peace should be made without the consent of the Generall. Lastly, that the Generall should depose this dignitie when hee should be directed so to doe by the Councell, within three moneths if he were within the Empire, or within sixe moneths, if he should then be out of the confines of the Empire. To conclude, he that shall particularly visit and behold the Armories and storehouses for military provisions, as wel of the Princes as free Cities, shall bee forced to wonder at the quantity, varietie and goodnesse thereof, which if they were all under the command of one Prince, no two of the mightiest Kings of Christendome might therein compare with him.

It remaines briefly to adde something of the Navall power of the Germans. Almost all Germany being within land, onely the Cities upon the Northerne Ocean, and upon the Baltike sea, have any exercise of Navigation. And I did never reade or heare that any of them did ever undertake any long and dangerous voyage by sea, nor can their Marriners be praised for their experience or boldnesse, compared with the English and Netherlanders. The City of Dantzke (which for agreement of tongue and manners, I reckon among the Cities of Germany, though it be in some sort annexed to Poland), howsoever it is famous for concourse of Merchants, and rich commodities, yet not using to export them in their owne ships, but rather to sell them to strangers, or to lade their ships, & especially those of the Hollanders, I could not understand,

*Their Navall  
power at this  
day.*



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that forty ships belonged to that Citie. Among the other Cities, Lubeck and Hamburg are farre more powerfull in this kind, then all the rest joyned together. The Haven of Hamburg hath commonly great number of shipping, and they said, that more then six hundred ships did then belong to the City. But they being vast, and built onely for burthen, are held unfit for warre. The City of Hamburg and the other Cities upon the Northerne Ocean, having long enjoyed peace, as neutrals, while all their neighbours have made warre one with the other, and none of the Cities, excepting Hamburg, sending out ships further then upon the coast, it cannot be that the ships should be strongly armed. At Hamburg I did see a ship then building for a man of warre, of one thousand two hundred tunnes, and among the other ships belonging to that Citie, the greatest was called the golden Lion, strongly built, and bearing eighteene brasse pieces on each side, which they named their Admirall. But our best Sea-men thought them both more fit to defend the Haven, as Forts, then to make any fights at Sea. In our age thirty seven ships of Hamburg were laded by the Flemmings with Dantzke Rie for Spaine (where they had free trafficke in the heate of the warre betweene England France, Netherland and Spaine), and of these ships sixe perished in the very going out of the Elve, by tempest, while English and other ships safely put to sea; and the rest despairing of the Voyage into Spaine were unladed. Not long before my being there, they had sent some eight or ten ships into Spaine, whereof onely one returned in safetie to Hamburg. The City Lubeck hath a greater number of ships then Hamburg: but they commonly trading within the Baltick sea, (seldome troubled with warre or Pyrates), and their ships being onely built for burthen, are slow of saile, and unfit to fight at sea. Besides that for the foresaid reason, they carry few or no pieces, or other armes. To conclude, while I was at Lubeck, a great ship of that Citie of one thousand foure hundred tuns, called the Eagle, & laded with salt, perished

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[III.iv.201.]

in the returne from Spaine. Whereupon I then heard our best Sea-men impute great ignorance to the German Marriners of those Cities. This shall suffice for their skill in Navigation, whereof I have formerly spoken in the third Booke of this Volume or Part, treating of the trafficke of Merchants in Germany.

Touching their Lawes and judiciall courses in generall: Of old the Magistrates of Germany were as Captaines of Cities, who determined of Civill causes at home, and had publike meetings yeerely for that purpose, most commonly in the moneth of May, or at the times of the full and new Moones. They came armed to these meetings not all together, but every man at his pleasure, and as it pleased the multitude, so they sate in judgement. Silence was commanded by the Priests, who had power to punish them. Then the Prince or King, or any eminent person in eloquence or in favour, was heard to speake, yet as perswading, not commanding; and if the speech pleased, the people shewed consent by murmuring, or otherwise dissent by striking their speares together. Here they determined all controversies, and chose new Captaines or Governours. They had a custome, that if any man complained of another, hee should make a supper for a hundred men, who duely examined the cause; and if the plaintife had the right, the defendant paid the charge, otherwise he scaped free. They gave of free will to their Prince of their Cattell and Corne, as much as they thought fit for his honour and necessity. Tacitus writes that the old Magistrates of Germany did nothing unarmed, publicly or privately: And the Germans themselves confesse, that their old Progenitors seldome tried injuries by Law, but commonly revenged them with fire and sword, and that they shamed not to take preyes by stealth or force. Quintilianus Varus appointed Governour of Germany by the Emperour Augustus, did first appoint the judgement of Scabines (which in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Judge: for he had formerly beene Governour of Jury). These Scabines determined all controversies,

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and to this day the Germans in most places so call their Judges. The lower and upper Saxony hath a provincially Law, yet determines also many causes by the civill Law. The Statutes of the Diots or Parliaments bind all, but the Statutes of private Princes onely bind their owne subjects.

The greatest part of Germany is governed by the Civill Law: And therefore the Doctors of the Civill Law are much esteemed among them, and are Counsellors of Estate aswell to the Emperour as to other Princes, which place they thinke unfit to be conferred on any Doctors of Divinity. Yea, the Princes of Germany have this peculiar fashion, that no sonne useth his Fathers old counsellors, but rather new chosen by himselfe. The said Doctors of the Civill Law have priviledge by their degree, to weare chaines of gold about their neckes, and feathers in their hats.

There be in Germany foure kinds of Law giving, or rather foure cheefe Courts of Justice. The first is that of the Diots or Parliaments, vulgarly called Reichstagen, that is; Daies of the Kingdome, which meetings by the Law should be made once in the yeere, and last no lesse then a moneth at least, no man having liberty to depart from them without leave of the Councell: Neither may the Emperour or his sonne, or the elect King of the Romans, make any warre or league, without consent of the same. The second Court is called Landgericht, that is, the Justice of the Land, wherein the cheefe men of each Province are to be called together thrice in the yeere, and are to sit three weekes, to determine the cheefe affaires of the Province, as the Parliaments handle the cheefe affaires of the Empire. The third Court is vulgarly called Camergericht, that is, the Justice of the Imperiall Chamber, which is held at Spire foure times each yeere, each time lasting forty dayes, to determine the generall causes of the Empire. The fourth Court is the Burgraves right, by which debts by specialty are recovered.

The Kingdome of Bohemia hath a provincially Law, derived from the Law of Saxony, and for that cause there

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be few Students of the Civill Law: but because the Emperour hath instituted three Chaunceries, one for the Law of Saxony, (which Province lies upon the North side of the Kingdome:) the second for the Law of Bohemia: the third for the Civill Law, (in respect of the Emperours subjects of Austria, lying on the South side of Bohemia,) [III.iv.202.] for this cause there be many Doctors of Civill Law, and they also much esteemed in the Emperours Court. If a Bohemian have a cause in any Court of the Germans, he is tried by the Civill Law, or by the Law of Saxony; and if a German answer in the Court of the Bohemians, he is tried by the provinciall Law of Bohemia, and the Defendant drawes the cause to his owne Court. Moravia, a Province incorporated to Bohemia, useth the Language and Law of that Kingdome. In the old City of Prage, howsoever almost all speake Dutch, yet the Law is given in the Bohemian tongue, by a statute lately made. Silesia, a Province incorporated to Bohemia, hath the manners and language of Germany, and Justice is there administered by the Law of Bohemia, derived from the Law of Saxony; but for the greater part by the Civill Law. Generally in Germany, if a cause be received into any Court, and the defendant escape to another City, the Magistrate of the place must send him backe, to answer the Plaintife his accuser.

The causes of the Empire (as I formerly said) are handled in the Imperiall Chamber at Spire. And therefore it will not be amisse to relate some Statutes made in the Imperial meetings, which are collected into a Booke, vulgarly called *Reichs abscheidt*, that is, the Epitome or abstract of the Kingdome; but I will onely set downe breefly some of the cheefe statutes. It was decreed in the yeere 1556, that no subjects of the Electors, nor any Inhabitants, or Earles of their Provinces, should appeale from them to this Court of the Imperiall Chamber. The Emperour Fredericke the third, in the yeere 1442, made these statutes: That no Prince should by armes right himselfe against another, before Justice have beene denied

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Chamber.*



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to him in this Imperiall Court. That the Judge of the Chamber should be a Prince or Barron, and of these sixteene Assessors, halfe should be Civill Lawyers, and halfe of the Knightly Order. That the greater part should carry the cause, and the voices being equall, the Judges voyce should cast it. That the Judge should not be absent without leave of the Assessors, nor they without his leave, and that without some great cause, more then foure of them should not be absent at one time: That in absence they should have no voyce: That the cheef Judge being sicke, shall substitute a Prince in his place, who shall first take his oath. The Procters and Advocates shall take no more of their Clients, then the Judges shal appoint, and shall sweare to avoide slander and malice. The Notaries shall execute the judgements in the name of the Emperour. Appeales shall be of no force, except they be made in order to the next superiour Court, and so ascending. All that belong to this Chamber, shall be free from all payments, but not one of them shall either keepe an Inne, or trade as a Merchant. The Judge shall deliver over to the Senate of the City, those that are guilty of death. By the same decree, all fees for writing and processes are set downe, so as the Clyent swearing poverty, shall goe free, so as hee sweare to pay the fees when he shall be able. Further it was decreed, that the seate of this Chamber or Court, should not be changed but by the consent of the Imperial diot or Parliament. That the Defendants hiding themselves, the Princes or Citizens to whom they are subject, shall sweare upon a set day, that they are not privy to any of their actions, or else shall satisfie all damages. That the Procters shall speake nothing but to the purpose, and for jeasts or impertinent things in word or writing, shal be punished by a mulct in money, and by being put to silence in that cause. By the Emperour Charles the fifth, in the Diot at Augsburg, the yeere 1518, two new Assessors were added, and it was decreed, that Charles as Emperour, should appoint the cheefe Judge, two Assessors of the Law, and two Gentle-

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men Assessors, and as heire to his patrimony, should appoint two learned Assessors. That three Gentlemen Assessors should be named by the three secular electors, three learned by the three spiritual Electors, and three Gentlemen with three learned, by the common consent of the six Communities. (For the Empire was devided into sixe Communities, vulgarly called Kreysen, for the collection of tributes and like duties, as other Kingdomes are devided into Counties; and since that time in the yeere 1522, for the same purposes, the Empire was devided into ten Communities). Further it was decreed, that twenty two persons should with like equality be named yeerely to visit this Chamber or Court. That no appeale should be admitted into this Court under the value of fiftie Guldens; and that the executions of judgements should be done by the next Magistrates, and they not willing or not daring to doe it, should be referred to the Emperour. At a Parliament in the yeere 1522, it was decreed, That no stranger should be appointed cheefe Judge: That for absence the pensions should be abated, after the rate of the time, and be distributed among the present: That the Judges should sweare to take no guifts; not to prolong causes, and to doe right without respect of persons; and that the Proctors should take no fees, but such as are set downe by statutes. At the Parliament in the yeere 1555, it was decreed, that no Assessors should be of any other Religion, then of the Roman, or the Confession of the Protestants, made at Augsburg. That one Assessor should not interrupt the speech of another, nor should rise to conferre one with the other, and that all speeches of anger should be punished, and all be sworne to keep secret the Acts of the Councell: That Advocates should not be more then foure and twenty in number: That any man should be admitted to speake for himselfe, first swearing to avoide slander: That this Chamber or Court should be yeerely visited, upon the first of May, by the Archbishop of Mentz, as substitute to the Emperour; by three other, each chosen by one of the

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Electors, by two Princes, one temporall, the other spirituall, and by one Counsellor, chosen by each order, (namely one by the Earles, and one by each free City) to whom the complaints should be presented upon the first of March. That no man should forbid his subjects to appeale to this Court, except they should willingly renounce the appeale; but that all froward appeales for unjust causes should be punished, by paying charges, and being fined; and that no appeale should bee admitted under the value of fifty Guldens, excepting those who have priviledge to appeale for lesse summes, and that no appeale be made for corporal punishments: That the Chamber should be held at Spire, till it be otherwise decreed by Parliament, but that in time of famine or plague, they may for the time choose another place: That two brothers should not be the one an Assessor, the other a Procter: That the Judges shall meete three dayes in the weeke, and eight of them at the least shall be present: That execution of judgement shall first be required by letters of the Court, to which if the Defendant shal not yeeld obedience, he shal be cited to appeare, and shall be condemned in costs, and the Plaintife shall be put in possession of his goods; and the Defendant by the Popes priviledge granted to this Court, shall be excommunicated, and then execution shall be desired from the Magistrate of the Community, or in case the defendant be powerful, it shall be desired from the Emperour himselfe. Lastly, that no appeale nor petition against the judgement of the Chamber shall be admitted.

And thus much breefly written of the Imperiall Chamber or Court, shall suffice. Onely I will adde, that appeales were of old granted to the Electors subjects, and at this day in some cases and above a certaine value, are granted to the subjects of Princes and Cities; and that in difficult causes, the Germans often referre them, to be judged by the Colledges of civill Lawyers in the University: but since Princes and Cities weekly hold Courts of judgement, so as execution is done before

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appeale can be made, and since many Cities and Princes have priviledges against appeales, granted to them from the Emperour, these appeales are many times and by divers meanes made voide. In this Chamber the Emperour himselfe may be accused, and many times a Gentleman, or any man of inferior condition, having difference with a Prince, gaines the cause against him, and the great differences of Princes, wont to breake into warre, use quietly to be composed in this Court. The cheefe Judge, if he be Earle or Barron, hath two thousand Guldens yeerely, by the statute made in the yeere 1548, and hath more if he be a Prince. An Assessor, if he be an Earle or Barron, hath yeerely by the same statute seven hundred Guldens; if he be a Doctour of the Civill Law, or a Gentleman, he hath five hundred Guldens, and each Advocate in Exchequer causes, hath yeerely three hundred Guldens; and by a statute in the yeere 1557, they receive for each Gulden 77 Creitzers, for bettering of their pensions, whereas formerly each Gulden was valued at sixteene Batzen, or sixty foure Creitzers.

Touching capitall judgements. By the Civill Law, in most heinous offences, the affection is punished, though it take no effect: yet in common custome, and after the forme of the Statutes of Italy, he that hath a mind to kill, is not punished, except he doe kill. The old Law of Saxony respects the fact, not the will: but of late the Electors of Saxony have made a Statute (which is yet in vigour), that he that provokes a man to fight, or threatens death to him, shall dye, though hee never assaile him. The Germans hold it reprochfull to apprehend any malefactor, which is onely done by the Serjeants of the Hangmans disgracefull Family. My selfe observed, that a young man, Kinsman to the Consul or Maior of a Citie, having killed a Gentleman, remained two howers in the Citie, and then fled, without any stop by the Serjeants, who notwithstanding did afterwards for fashion sake pursue him, some few howers. Yet I must needs confesse, that the Germans are generally most severe in Justice,

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*Capitall  
judgements.*



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sparing not the Inhabitants more then strangers, yea, in some cases favouring strangers more then the Inhabitants, (as in debts, which a stranger cannot stay to recover by long processe.) My selfe having a sute for money at Lindaw, my advocate would by no meanes take any fee of me, and the Judge gave mee right with great expedition. In criminall offences they never have any pardons from Court, (which are common in forraigne Kingdomes), but the punishment is knowne by the fact, so the malefactor be apprehended. For all hope of safety is in flight, yet I deny not that favour is often done in the pursute. For since onely the Serjeants can apprehend, there is no place, where more malefactors escape by flight. In the Citie of Lubeck, most honoured for Justice, the common report was, that the very Judges and Senators, had lately winked at a Gentlemans breaking of prison and flight with his keeper, whom being imprisoned for a murther, they could neither execute, without greatly offending the King of Denmark, nor otherwise set free, without scandall of Justice. A man suspected of any crime, or accused by one witnesse, is drawne to torture, yet is never condemned upon any probability, till himselfe confesse the fact, which confession is easily extorted, because most men had rather dye, then indure torment. So as many times innocent men have been after knowne to have perished by their owne confessions, as with us sometimes innocent men have been knowne to dye, being found guilty by a Jurie of twelve sworne men. And because it cannot be that the judgements of men should not often erre; hence it is that the Civill Lawyers have a strange, yet good saying, that a mischiefe is better then an inconveniency, namely, that it is better one innocent man should dye by triall, then many nocent persons should escape for want of triall. In Germany not onely men but women also being accused, are put to torture. And for divers great crimes, the Law judgeth them to death with exquisite torments. And because they can hardly bee indured with Christian patience, lest the condemned should fall into despaire, the

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very Preachers, when they have heard their confessions, and settled their mindes in true faith, by rare example of too great charitie, permit and advise, that they be made drunken, to stupifie their sences, so as thus armed, they come forth with more bold then holy mindes and lookes, and seeme not to feelee unsufferable torments of death.

Neare Lindaw I did see a malefactor hanging in Iron chaines on the gallowes, with a Mastive Dogge hanging on each side by the heeles, so as being starved, they might eate the flesh of the malefactor before himselfe died by famine. And at Franckford I did see the like spectacle of a Jew hanged alive in chaines, after the same manner.

The condemned in Germany lose not their goods, but onely in case of Treason against their absolute Lords. But in Bohemia the goods of the condemned, fall to the Emperour, as he is King of Bohemia, in the Territories belonging to the King; and to the Princes and Gentlemen, in the Territories whereof they are absolute Lords (as they are all, in their owne lands.)

In Germany Courtiers and Students of Universities, have their proper Judges and Prisons, so as by singular priviledge they may not be tried in any other Court. And of old the Students of many Universities had such priviledges (at this day not fully allowed), as for murther they could not be punished further, then with expulsion. [III. iv. 205.] In Germany they have a custome to give a condemned man to a Virgin that desires him for her husband, but according to the circumstances of the crime, they grant or denie the same.

The office of the hangman is hereditary, so as the sonne cannot refuse to succede his father: And of late the hangmans sonne of Hamburg being a Student, and learned if not a graduate, in the University of Basil, after his Fathers death, was called home by the Senate of Hamburg, and forced to doe his Fathers Office, which is most ignominious, but of great profit: For the Germans hold it reprochfull to take off the skinned of any beast, dying of it selfe, so as the hangman doing that Office, hath the

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skinneres for his labour. The Germans are so superstitious, as they thinke it a great reproch to touch the head or body of any put to death, and thinke it most ridiculous for any man to salute the hangman, or speake curteously to him, and esteeme it a foule fault to eate or drinke with them, or any of his Family. Therefore the Hang-man and those of their Family, who helpe them in their Office (and succede them having no children) doe all weare a greene cap, or some apparent marke, by which they may be knowne, or at least are tied to professe their quality, when they come into any company, lest any man should offend in the former kindes. And in publike Tavernes they have Tables proper to them, at which the basest body will not sit for any reward. If they performe not their Office with dexterity, they feare to be stoned by the people, whose rage many times in that case they have hardly escaped; but being expert in doing their Office, and having most sharpe Swords, they commonly shew great dexterity in beheading many at one time, and (as it were) in a moment: They are commonly thirsty of blood, so as the common report was, that the hangman of Torge beheaded some of his companions with the Sword of Justice, because they would not pledge him, when they were so fully drunken, as they could no more; whereupon the Sword was taken from him, and is to this day kept in the Senate-house, and onely delivered to him at times of execution: And that this rascall could not live a weeke without drinking the blood of some Beast. Besides at Breme not long before this time, forty freebooting souldiers being beheaded at one time, and the hangman having failed in giving a foule wound to the first man executed, and having with much difficulty appeased the peoples anger for the same, hee presently drunke some of the mans blood that was dead, and after hee had fetched a strike or two, beheaded all the rest with strange dexterity (as it were) in a moment.

*Man-slaughter.* Of old among the Germans man-slaughter was punished by a mulct of cattle, but no man escaped death for

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adultery. At this day (as after will appeare) they punish man-killers more severely, and adultery in most places is death, and in no part of Germany free from severe punishment. Not onely the free Cities of the Empire have the priviledge of the Sword, or capitall Justice granted to them by Emperours; but also many Cities subject to inferiour Princes have that priviledge granted by some of their Lords: and those Cities that have it not, yet upon accidents of capitall offences, obtaine it for the time by petitionary letters at Court, so as the Prince permits Justice, the City gives sentence, and sees execution done in the place where the crime was committed, and presently after the fact, never using (as we doe) to send Judges from County to County at set times of the yeere: For casuall man-slaughter, or by chance medly (as we terme it), the Civill Law gives arbitrary punishment; but the Law of Saxony punisheth it with a certaine and expresse mulct, namely of one Wehrgeld, and by the Civill Law not onely the principall, but every one that is accessary, payes the whole mulct, whereas by the Saxon Law, if it be not knowne which of them killed him, all jointly pay but one mulct. Killing in sudden anger (which we call man-slaughter) is punished with beheading through all Germany and Bohemia, and that without delay: for if the offender be apprehended, he shall within few howers, or next day be beheaded, and put in the same Coffin with him that he killed, and so both are buried with one funerall pompe, and in the same grave: and if upon escape, the man-slayer live within the confines of the Empire, whensoever his fact is knowne, he shall be sent backe to the place where he committed it, contrary to the custome of Italy, where the Princes cherrish, or at least give safe aboade to the banished men of the next Countries: Onely I must except the Lords and Gentlemen of Bohemia, who upon capitall offences are not presently judged, but are referred to the next Parliament. In free Cities I have observed this forme of judgement and execution. The Judge sits before the tribunall, covered with blacke cloth,

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*Forme of  
judgement and  
execution.*

and the Senators and Consuls sit upon a bench above him; and this place of Judgement is commonly in a Porch or Terras under the Senate-house, having one side all open towards the market place. Then the Crier, who carries the Sword before the Judge, calls out the accuser; and the hangman coming forth, accuseth the Malefactor, which done, the Cryer leads the Malefactor before the Tribunall, where he is againe accused, and confesseth the fact, according to his confessions formerly made either in torture or before the Senators appointed to examine him: Then the Judge gives sentence, and breakes his white rod. This done, the Hangman repeates the sentence in the market place, and presently the Malefactor is brought forth to be beheaded. This man-slaughter in sudden fury, is very frequent among the Germans, by reason of their excessive drinking. In the City of Hamburg I observed thirty seven to be thus killed in the space of six weekes, and onely three of the manslaughterers to be beheaded, the rest escaping by flight. And at Prage in Bohemia, I observed fiftene servants of the Polonian Ambassadour (whereof many were Gentlemen), and thirteene Bohemians and Germans, to be wounded to death in their cups, within the space of three weekes, all the manslaughterers escaping, excepting one poore clowne, who was executed. It is true that Post-Horses are kept for the Sergeants to pursue Malefactors, yet they slowly follow Gentlemen, or those that have good friends, howsoever they would soon apprehend a stranger, or a poore offender, neither use they earnestly to pursue any, except they be hired by the friends of him that is killed, or be otherwise terrified by the Magistrate.

For combates in Germany, reade the precept of patience in the Chapter of Precepts, being the second chapter of this 3 Part. Here I wil onely say, that in combat very few, or no Germans are killed, few hurt, and that lightly; which I rather attribute to their peaceable nature, not apt to take things in reproch, then to their severe Lawes. I have said that manslaughterers die without hope of pardon, if they be apprehended, but otherwise the Germans have no

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severe Lawes to punish injuries, (in which Justice the Sweitzers of all Nations excell), without which Lawes, no capitall punishment can keepe men from revenge, especially in a warlike Nation, and unpatient of reproch: Onely at Augsburg I remember severe Lawes, made to keepe the Garrison Souldiers from combates, where they have a plat of ground, to which they call one another to fight upon injuries; but it serves more to make shew, then prooffe of their valour: For a Souldier wounding another, payes foure Guldens: Hee that drawes his Sword, though he draw no blood, payes two Guldens: He that upon challenge and the greatest provocation, kills another, is banished: And the Magistrate gives such reall satisfaction to the wronged by deed or word, as they may with reputation forbear revenge: yea, he that doth a wrong, is bound under great penalty, that he himselfe shall presently make it knowne to the Magistrate, craving pardon, and submitting himselfe to punishment, howsoever the wronged never complains.

At Prage in Bohemia, manslaughter committed by Gentlemen against strangers, and those of meaner condition, are much more frequent, because Gentlemen can only be judged in Parliaments, which are not often called, and are then tried by Gentlemen, who are partiall in the common cause, and commonly acquite them, or delude Justice by delaies: Otherwise the Bohemians punish manslaughter, murther, robbery, and like crimes, as the Germans punish them.

By the Civill Law the punishment of a boy for manslaughter, is arbitrary, but he is not subject to the Cornelian Law, or capitall punishment, except he be capable of malice. By the Law of Saxony, a boy for manslaughter is punished by the foresaid mulct, if he be capable of malice, otherwise he is subject to no punishment, and in like sort if he deprive one of the use of any member: but in custome if he be seventeene yeeres old, [III.iv] he may be, and is commonly put to death. By the Civill law, the punishment of reall and verball injuries is

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*Punishment of  
reall and  
verball  
injuries.*

arbitrary, and as many wounds as are given, so many are the punishments. But by the law of Saxony, he that strikes another, so as he leese the use of a member, is punished by a mulct of money uncertaine, which is given alwaies to him that is maimed, and if he die not, a thousand wounds or maimes are punished onely with one mulct, except they bee done at divers times and places, in which case severall mulcts are inflicted. Alwaies understand, that these Judgements are given, where the offender is civilly accused, for if these wounds be given of set malice, and if he be capitally accused, he shall dye, according to the circumstances, which the Germans much regard. Thus at Lubeck a man was beheaded, for striking a Citizen in his owne house. And in the way from Stoade to Brene, I did see a sad monument, of a wicked sonne, whose hand first, and then his head was cut off, for striking his father. He that killes a man of set malice, and like hainous murtherers, have all their bones broken upon a wheele, and in some cases their flesh is pinched off, with hot burning pinsers, and they that kill by the high-way, are in like sort punished. And many times for great crimes, the malefactors some few dayes before the execution of judgement, are nailed by the eares to a post in a publike place, that the people may see them. After the execution, the bones and members of the malefactor are gathered together, and laid upon the wheele, which is set up in the place of execution (commonly where the crimes were committed), for eternall memory of his wickednesse, with so many bones hanging on the sides of the wheele, as he committed murders or like crimes; and my selfe have numbred sometimes eightene, often fourteene bones thus hanging for memory of so many murders, or like crimes committed by one man. These markes long remaining, and crosses set up in places where murders were committed, though the murtherer escaped by flight, make passengers thinke these crimes to be frequent in Germany; yet the high-way is most safe, and the nature of the people abhorring from such acts, which are never

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committed by Gentlemen, but only by rascals against footmen in the highway, and those that dwell in solitary houses. Yet the severity of punishments, & the more fierce nature of the Germans (retaining some kind of fierceness from their old progenitors) make such as are thus given over to wickedness, to be more barbarous & unmerciful, and when they have once done ill, to affect extremity therein. To conclude, I have said, that the law of Saxony condemns a man to death, who threatens to kill another, though he never do the act. By the Civil law, difference is made between a day & a night thief, because we may not kill him that steals by day, but may kill him that robs by night, if we cannot spare him without danger to our selves. By the law of Saxony, he that by night steals so much as a little wood, shall be hanged: but stealing that or like goods by day, shall only be beaten with rods. In the civil law, it is doubtful whether theft is to be punished with death or no, & most commonly it concludes, that only theft deserves not death, if it be not accompanied with other crimes. But the law of Saxony expressly condemns a thief to be hanged, if he steals above the value of five Hungarian Ducats of gold, or under that value to be beaten with rods, and to be marked with a burning iron, in the ears or cheeks and forehead, and so to be banished. And howsoever generally a thief may not be hanged by the Civil Law, yet in some cases it condemns him to be hanged. By the law of Saxony the thing stolen must be restored to the owner, and may not be detained by the Magistrate, and they who wittingly receive stolen goods, or give any help to thieves, are subject no less than the thieves to the punishment of hanging. In Germany there be very few robberies done by the high-way, and those only upon footmen; for they that pass by coach or horse, carry long Pistols or Carbiners, and are well accompanied. But if any robbers assault, in respect of the severe punishment, they commonly kill. In Germany they who are hanged for simple theft, hang in iron chains



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[III.iv.208.] upon the gallowes till they rot and consume to nothing, but in Bohemia after three dayes they are cut downe and buried. I did see one that had stolen lesse then five gold guldens, whipped about the towne, one that consented being led by his side for ignominy, but not whipped. I did see another small offender led to the gallowes with a condemned man, that he might beware by that example. And I have seene others for stealing under the said value, put in a basket, and thrise ducked in the river, for a warning upon the first fault. And I have often heard them tax our English Justice, for hanging those that steale above the value of thirten pence halfe-peny, which will hardly buy a rope. By the Civill Law he that findes any thing, and for gaine keeps it, is guilty of theft; for he ought to make it publikely knowne, and to restore it being owned, or other wise if he be poor to keep it, if he be rich, to distribute it among the poore.

By the Law of Saxony, it is a theevish thing not to make publikely knowne any thing that is found; but hee that so doth, shall not suffer death or any corporall punishment, because he did not of purpose take it away: but if he that lost it, doe cry it in the Church or market-place, then if it be more then the value of five shillings, hee is thought worthy to be beaten with rods, or to indure such arbitrary punishment, according to the value of the thing found.

By the Civill Law, hee that cuts downe trees secretly, shall pay the double value: but by the Law of Saxony, the mulct is according to the value. By the Civil Law, they that steale the necessities belonging to husbandry, shall restore foure fold, and also incurre infamy. But one Law of Saxony condemnes them to have their bones broken with wheelles; and another Law makes the punishment arbitrary. The Civill Law confiscates goods for which custome is not payd, but the Law of Saxony imposeth a Fyne aswell upon those which pay not customes and duties, as upon those that passe not the beaten way, where they are paied, but go some byway, to

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defraud the Prince: By the Civill Law, sacrilegious persons are beheaded: but by the Law of Saxony their bones are broken upon the wheele, and markes are set up according to the number of their offences in that kynd. By the Civill Law, no offender may be burnt in the forehead, because the face may not be disfigured, as created to the similitude of God: but in Saxony, those which are beaten with rods, or banished, are also many times marked, by being burnt in the hand, or by cutting off their eares, or by pulling out their eyes, or by being burnt in the cheekes, so as the haire may not cover the marke but it may be manifest to strangers in forraine parts. Yet the interpreters of that Law, thinke at this day, that offenders can not be so punished by that Law, and that a theefe ought not so to be marked. By the civil Law, witches doing any act wherupon a man dies, are to be beheaded, but by the Law of Saxony, they are to be burnt. Yet by a late Statute of the Elector, they are sometimes beheaded, (for you must understand that in all places, the Provinciaall Law is daily increased by new Statutes of Princes). And by the Law of Saxony, a witch having done no hurt by that art, is punished arbitrarily. And the Germans credibly report, that there be many witches in the Countries lying upon the Baltick sea, and especialy upon the Northern side therof, as in Lapland, being part of the kingdome of Suetia; and that in those places they have generall meetings, and Colledges of witches, who wil tell any man what his frends do at any time, in the remotest parts, one of them falling downe as in extasie, and when he comes to himselfe, relating the particulars thereof, and that they ordinarily sell windes to the Marriners to carry them out of the haven to the maine

In Germany those that set houses on fier, either hired thereunto, or of their owne malice, and also witches use to bee burnt, or if their crime be hainous, use to be put to death with a burning iron or spit, thrust into their hinder partes. Coiners of counterfeit mony, are by the

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Law to dye in boiling lead. By the Civil Law the goods of a banished man may be seased to repaire any losse, but it is not lawfull for any man to kill him, neither is he infamous. But by the Law of Saxony, he that is banished by the Empire, may be killed; because he broke the peace, and after a yeers banishment, he is infamous; alwaies understanding, that he is lawfully banished. By the Civill Law, a traitor to his country, is to be burned to death; but by the Law of Saxony, his bones are broken upon the wheele, and by custome many torments are in some crimes added to this punishment. By the Civill Law, he that steales a virgin, widow, or Nunne, and all that helpe him in that rape, are beheaded: but by the Law [III.iv.210.] of Saxony, besides the beheading of the offenders, the places are to be laid waste where the force was offred, and the beasts to be killed that helped to doe the force, as the horses which carried them away; yet this is not observed, but in practise only he is put to death that offered the force.

### *Adultery.*

Of old the women of Germany, were wont to purge themselves from suspition of adultery, by the combat of champions, or by treading on shares of hot burning iron with their naked feet, without taking any harme, and this purgation should still be observed; neither is it abrogated in Saxony, but only is vanished by disusing. And the Germans have not only of old been severe punishers of breaches in wedlocke, so as it was lawfull for the husband to expell his adulterous wife out of his house before all his neighbours, with her body naked and her haire shorne, and so to beat her with rods through the streets, but also even to this day, the chastity of wives, through the severity of the Law against the incontinent, is no where so preserved, as in Germany. If a married person lie with one that is unmarried, aswell on the man as the womans side, the married party is put to death, and the unmarried is punished by the purse, and with ignominy, and if both parties be married, both die. And our age hath scene two notable examples of this Justice in Germany, one of a

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Duchesse, who by authority of her husband and of her owne brother, was for this crime forced to drinke poison secretly, for preserving of all their honours. The other of another Duchesse who was bricked up in a most narrow roome, having an hole in the wall by which she received her meat, to prolong her miserable life, while her husband had another wife and lived with her in the same Castle, in which she thus languished. In most places of Germany this sinne is punished no lesse then with death; yet in some places, and upon some circumstances, (as of a man having an old and barren wife) the delinquent sometimes escapes with a mulct of mony: and otherwhere the judgment is drawne out with delaies of the suit, to spare the parties without manifest breaches of the Law. In Bohemia adultery is also punished with death. In Germany I did see a poore knave hanging and rotting on the gallows, being condemned to that death for having two wives at one time in two severall Cities, and I did see another beheaded for lying with his wives sister.

In Civill causes, I observed these laudable customes in Germany, namely that in many Courts, they that goe to Law lay downe a caution or pledge, which he loseth, who in the end of the triall, is found rashly and unjustly to have sued the other. That the Fees of Lawyers are limited, and that jeasts or impertinent speeches are punished, and they are tied to speake nothing that is not to the purpose.

*Civil  
Judgements.*

Of old, no beauty, age, nor riches, helped a defloured virgin, to get any husband at any time. And no doubt virgins to this day are no where so carefull of their good name as in Germany; no where virgins more modestly behave themselves, no where virgins live to so ripe yeers before they be married, as in Germany. At Wittenberg I did see harlots punished by standing at the Altar with a torch lighted in their hands, and by being whipped with rods, while many drums were beaten, & basons tinckled about them. At Heidelberg I did see an harlot put in a basket, and so ducked into the river Neccar; and because



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she whooped and hollowed as in triumph, when she rose out of the water, she was for that impudency ducked the second time. At Prage in Bohemia, howsoever harlots be there as common as in Italy, and dwell in streets together, (where they stand at the doores, and by wanton signes allure passengers to them) yet I did see some men and women of the common sort, who for simple fornication, were yoked in carts, & therewith drew out of the City the filth of the streets. But while the Bohemians thus chasten the poorer sort, I feare the greater Flies escape their webs.

[III.iv.210.] In Germany at the time of publike Faïres, after the sound of a bell, it is free for debtors, harlots, and banished people to enter the Citie; but they must have care to be out of the territories before the same bell sound againe at the end of the Faïre, they being otherwise subject then to the Law. At Leipzig I did see an harlot taken after this second sound of the bell, who had been formerly banished, with two of her forefingers cut off; and shee, not for incontinecie, but by the law of banishment, was next day beheaded. Whiles I lived in the same Citie, it happened that a virgin of the better sort being with child, and cunningly concealing it, was surprised with the time of birth in the Church upon a Sunday, and silently brought forth the child in her pew or seat, covering it with rushes being dead, which was unknowne to all in the body of the Church, only some yong men sitting in a roode or loft with the Musitians, perceived the fact, and accused her for murthering the child: In the meane time, shee went home from the Church, in the company of the other virgins, without any shew of such weaknes, & after, upon the said accusation being imprisoned, the report was that shee should bee judged to death, after the old Law mentioned by the Poet Propertius, namely, being sewed in a sacke with a living cat (in steed of an Ape), and a living Cocke, Snake, and Dog, and so drowned in the river with them. But delay being used in the judgement, and her honourable friends making intercession for her, and the murder of her child being not proved, when I

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left the Citie after six moneths shee remained in prison, and it was not knowne what would become of her.

Aswell in Germany as Bohemia, bastards are excluded from publike profession of liberall or mechanical arts, only they may exercise them in the houses of private Gentlemen, (in which course of life as servants they commonly live) but never in open shops. All graduates in Universities take an oath, that they were begotten in lawfull matrimony. And if any man ignorantly should marry a woman great with child, howsoever the child bee borne in mariage, yet it shall inherit nothing from the husband. Bastards cannot bee sureties for any imprisoned or delinquent man, nor enjoy the extraordinary benefits of the law, and are commonly named of the Citie or Towne where they were borne, for a marke of ignominy, not after any mans sirname. But the publike Notaries by priviledges granted to them from Emperors and Popes, have power to make their posterity legitimate.

In the lower part of Germany, which was all named Saxony of old, a debtor shall not be received into prison, except the Creditor allow the Jaylor two pence by the day to give him bread and water, and after a yeeres imprisonment, if the debtor take his oath that he is not able to pay, he shal be set free, yet the creditor hath stil his right reserved upon his yearly wages for his labour, and upon his gaines by any art or trade, and upon any goods whatsoever he shall after possesse. And before any debtor bee imprisoned, the Magistrate gives him eighteen weeks time to pay his debt, and commits him not till that time be past. And in some places the debtor lives at his owne expence, and shall be tied to pay his creditors charges, if he be able to doe it. *Debtors.*

In some places, especially at Lubecke, I have observed that strangers being Creditors, have more favour then the Creditors of the same City against a Citizen debtor, because strangers by reason of their trafficke, and hast homeward, cannot well expect the delay of sutes, in which respect their debtors shall presently be imprisoned, where-

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as mutually among the Citizens, they give the foresaid or like time of payment, before they will imprison them: Debts without specialty are tried by Oath. In Bohemia the debtors are imprisoned presently, and maintaine themselves, not being released till the creditors be satisfied.

In Germany, if any man draw other mens monies into his hands, and being able, yet payes not his debts, he is guilty of capital punishment; but that ingenious and honest Nation hath few or no such bankrupts. By the Law of Saxony, he that deceives by false weights and measures, is to be whipped with rods.

*Priviledge of  
coyning  
Money.*

The Emperours of old granted the priviledge of coyning Money, to many Princes and free Cities; and the Emperour in the Dyet or Parliament of the yeere 1500, commanded all Princes, Persons, and Bodies so priviledged, to send their Counsellors to him at Nurnberg, and that in the meane time all Coyning should cease, under the penalty to leese the priviledge of Coyning. In the same place, the yeere 1559, many Lawes were made for coyning Monies, whereof I will relate some few. First the weight and purity of the mettall was prescribed, together with the Inscriptions to be set upon the Coyne.

[III.iv.211.] Then it was decreed, that after sixe moneths no strange Monies should bee currant, whereof many are particularly named. That all forraigne Gold should after the same time be forbidden, excepting the Spanish single and double Duckets, the Portugall Crownes with the short crosse, the Crownes of Burgundy, Netherland, France, Spaine, and Italy, to each of which peeces a certaine value was set. Moreover it was decreed, that counterfet coyning or melting, should be punished according to the quality of the offence. That uncoyned gold and silver should be delivered by each man into the Mints of his owne Prince. That it should be lawfull to Goldsmiths for exercise of their trade, (and no more) to melt gold and silver, and to devide it into parts, so as they export none of it. That no man should sell or pawne the priviledge of Coyning, heretofore granted him from the Emperours,

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and that like priviledges hereafter to be granted, should be of no force, without certaine conditions there prescribed. Other Lawes of Coyning I have formerly set downe in the Chapter of Coynes.

Germany hath few or no beggars, the Nation being generally industrious, excepting leprous men, who live in Almes-houses, and standing farre off, beg of passengers with the sound of a bell, or of a wooden clapper, but no man denies almes to him that begs, they having small brasse monies of little value. The Law forbids any to beg, but those that are lame, and chargeth Magistrates to bring up their children in manuall Arts. The Lawes wisely provide against all frauds in manuall Arts and in Trades, and since no Trade can doe more hurt then the Potecaries, for the preservation of health, or the lesse hurt of the sicke, the Law provides that their shops be yearly visited, and purged of all corrupted drugges, which the visiters see burned. The Germans freely permit usury to the Jewes, who at Franckfort, at Prage, in the Province of Moravia, and in many places under Princes of the Papacy, have Cities, or at least streets to dwell in, where they lived separated from Christians, and grinde the faces of the poore with unsatiabie avarice. For they take fifty in the hundred by the yeere, with a pawne of gold or silver, and one hundreth in the hundreth by the yeere, with a pawne of apparell or houshold stuffe, never lending any thing without a good pawne. But the Germans among themselves cannot by the Law take more then five or six in the hundreth for a yeeres use. Yet among Christians, there want not some, who use both the name and helpe of the Jewes, to put out their mony with greater gaine.

Of old among the Germans, without respect to last Wils and Testaments, the sonnes lawfully begotten succeeded alone in the inheritance, and for want of them, first brothers; then uncles. Cæsar in his Commentaries writes, that the fields were yeerely divided by the Magistrate, no man having fees or inheritance proper to him, lest husbandry should take away their warlike disposition,

*The Lawes of  
Inheritance.*



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or they should become covetous; and addes, that they loved vast solitudes upon their confines, as if no people durst dwell neere them; or at least to the end they might live more safe from sudden incursions of enemies. At this day all barbarousnesse being abolished, they succeed according to the lawes in the Fees and inheritances of their parents and kinsmen, and affect peace as much as any other Nation. But they trust not so much to solitudes or the naked breast for defence from their enemies, as in strong forts and well fortified Cities.

By the Civill Law, as the sonne, so the nephew, or sonnes sonne, (representing his father) succeeds in land granted by fee. By the Law of Saxony, only the sonne succeeds, excluding the nephew: and if there be no sonne, the Fee retournes to the Lord. But howsoever the old Interpreters have so determined, yet the later Interpreters, judgeing it most unequall so to exclude the nephew, so interpret the Statute of the Saxonickall Law, as they make the Fee granted to the Father and his children, to extend to the nephews (or the sonnes of any his sonne,) so as the sonnes cannot exclude them. By the Feudatory Civill Law, brothers and collateral cosens, succeed in the Fee of the Father, sometimes to the seventh degree, sometimes infinitely: for the Interpreters extend the succession of the right line without end, but the succession of the collaterall line onely to the seventh degree. But in [III.iv.212.] the Law of Saxony, collateral kinsmen have no right of succession in the Fee, except they have it by right of joynt investiture. These Lawes differ in numbring the degrees. For the Saxons make the first degree in cosen-germans by the fathers side, namely the sonnes of two brethren; and the second degree in the sonnes of two cosen-germans: whereas in the Civill Law, cosen-germans are in the fourth degree of consanguinity. By the Civill Law, brothers dividing a fee, prejudice not themselves in mutuall succession; so as two brothers dividing, and after one of them dying without a sonne, the part of him that is dead, shall returne to him that lives. But by the Law

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*The Lawes of  
Succession.*

of Saxony, the succession depends uppon using it in common, from which if they depart, they are judged to have renounced the mutuall right of succession; so as one brother dying after the division, the other hath no right to his part: therefore by custome one brother useth to retaine the fee, and to satisfie his brethren in mony and goods, commonly with condition that this money and goods shall be bestowed in getting another fee. By the Civill Law, if the vassall have built houses, or bestowed mony in bettering the old houses, the Lord of the Fee shall either satisfie the heire according to the estimation of the expence, or shall suffer him to carry away the houses. But by the Law of Saxony, the fee lies open to the Lord, with all the houses built, one case excepted. By the Civill Law, if the vassall die without heire male before the moneth of March, the fruits of that yeere pertain to the Lord: but if hee die after the Calends of March, before the Moneth of August, the fruits pertain to the heires. But by the Law of Saxony, if the vassall live past the day when the rent is due, the heires shall injoy the fruits of his labour. By the Civill Law, if the Fee upon the death of the Lord, fall to all his sonnes, either equally or otherwise, the investiture must be desired of all: but by the Law of Saxony, it sufficeth to aske it of one sonne of the dead Lord. By the Civill Law, a servant or a clowne may be invested in a Fee; which done, the clowne becomes a Gentleman, if the nature of the fee require it: But by the Law of Saxony, onely hee that is borne of the knightly order by father and mother is capeable of a fee, though custome prevaile to the contrary. By the Civill Law, if the vassall leave an heire, he cannot refuse the inheritance, and retaine the fee, but must hold or refuse both: but by the Law of Saxony, he may retaine the fee, leaving the inheritance, and in that case is not bound to satisfie creditors. By the Civill Law, a man may give or sell his land to a Prince or Prelate, and take it againe of him in fee. But by the Law of Saxony, except the Prince or any buyer whatsoever, retaine the land a yeere and a

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day, before he grants it backe in fee, hee that gave or sold it, or his heire, hath right to recover the land. By the Civill Law, if the vassall have lost his horse or armes in warre, hee hath no remedy against the Lord, because he is tied by duty to helpe him: but by the Law of Saxony, the vassall is not tied to serve the Lord any longer, except he repaire his losse, and the Lord is tied to pay a certaine ransome for his captive Vassall. By the Civill Law, the Lord, or the Father of the Vassall being dead, the Vassall is bound to aske investiture within a yeere and a moneth: but by the Law of Saxony, either of them being dead, he must aske it without delay. By the Civill Law, the Vassall must serve the Lord at his owne charge: but by the Law of Saxony, he is onely tied to serve him sixe weekes, and by custome the Lord must feede him and his horse, or give him a competent allowance.

*The Civill  
Law and the  
Law of  
Saxony.*

By the Civil law, the pupil is excused from the Lords service: but by the law of Saxony, the Tutor must serve in his place. By the Civill law, a Fee falling to a Monk, belongs to the Monastery during his life: but by the law of Saxony, it returnes to the Lord. And touching the succession of Monks in any inheritance whatsoever, though by the Civil law they are accounted dead, yet the same law admits them to succeed with the children of the intestate father: but by the law of Saxony, they are not capable of any inheritance; yet this Law seeming unjust to the Popes, it was corrected, so as their succession was given to the Monastery. But in our age, the Judges have pronounced a Monke himself to be capeable of inheritance, notwithstanding the Papall Law gives his inheritance to the Monastery, and that because the Monkish Vowes being against the word of God, the persons of Monkes are free to take inheritance. By the Civill Law, the Vassall is bound to accompany his Lord when he goes with the King of the Romans, to take the Crowne of the Empire at Rome: but by the Law of Saxony, he may redeeme this service with paying the tenth part of his yeerely rent; and since, the golden Bulla hath restrained this service, to

[III.iv.213.]

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twenty thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, and the paiment of them hath since been equally divided through Germany, allowing a horseman twelve Guldens, and a footeman foure Guldens. By the Civill Law, he forfeites his Fee, who cuts downe fruitfull trees, or puls up vines, but by the Law of Saxony, it is free to the possessor, to make the lands or houses of the Fee better or worse, at his pleasure. By the Civill Law, if the Lord deny investiture, it must be asked often and humbly: but by the Law of Saxony, if the Vassall aske it thrice, and hath witnesses that the Lord denied his service, afterwards, so he have good witnesses thereof, hee and his heires shall possesse the Fee, without any bond of service, and his heire is not bound to aske investiture. By the Civill Law, if two Lords of one Vassall shall both at one time require his service, he is bound to serve the most ancient Lord: but by the Law of Saxony, the person of the Vassall must serve the Lord that first calles him, and he is to pay a summe of money (as the tenth pound) to the other.

By the aforesaid Lawes and daily practise, it appeares, that the Territories of Princes (according to the old Feudatory Lawes) either fall to the eldest son (who gives his brothers yeerely Pensions, or according to his inheritance, recompenceth them with money, or other lands), or else are equally divided among the brothers. Yet some Fees are also feminine, and fall to the daughters and their husbands, and some may be given by testament: but others, (as those of the Electors) for want of heires males are in the Emperours power, who with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, commonly gives them to the husbands of the daughters, or to the next heires by affinity, if there be none of consanguinity. I have heard of credible men, that the Dukedome of Austria first falls to the sons, then to the cousens, and for want of them to the daughters. The Duke of Wineberg and the Duke of Coburg (sonnes to Fredericke Duke of Saxony and Elector, but deprived of his Electorship by the Emperor Charles the fifth, for his Religion), did equally divide their

*Territories of  
Princes.*



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fathers inheritance, (the Electorship being given away, the inheritance wherof could not be divided): but I did observe, that the brother to that Duke of Coburgs son being unmarried, had no inheritance sub-divided to him, which was said should be done, when he tooke a wife. The Count Palatine of the Rheine, not long before this time deceased, did divide all the inheritance with his brother Duke Casimere, excepting the Palatinate, which with the stile and dignitie of Elector, belongs to the eldest sonne. But they say that many times the Knights and chiefe men of the Province, wil not for the publike good, lest the Princes power should be weakened, permit this division among their Princes, but force the younger brother to take money or yeerely pension for the part of his inheritance; and that this division is also many times forbidden by the dying fathers last Testament. And they seeme to do this not without just cause, since the great number of children often oppresseth divers principalities. Thus 17 brothers, al Princes of Anhalt (for the title is common to al the yonger brothers with the eldest, even where the patrimony is not divided) dividing their fathers estate betweene them, were said to have each of them ten thousand gold Guldens by the yeere; and if all these brethren should have children, it was probable that the Principalitie could not beare so many heires. I remember that I did see one of them at Dresden, in the Court of Christian Elector and Duke of Saxony, who received of him a pension to maintaine certaine horses, and was one of his Courtiers. The like happened in our time to the Counts of Mansfeild, whereof twenty seven lived at one time, and some of them followed the warres of Netherland, the revenues of so narrow a County sufficing not to beare up the dignitie of their birth, howsoever it yeeldeth Mines of Silver, which were at that time pawned for money to the Fuggari of Augsburg.

*Younger  
Sonnnes of  
Protestant  
Princes.*

I observed that the younger sonnnes of Protestant Princes, whose Fees could not be divided, yea, and the eldest sonne during his fathers life, injoyed the revenewes

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of Bishopricks as Administrators (being so called), besides money, and pensions, and some lands of inheritance, and otherwise for better maintenance followed the warres. In this sort when the Elector Christian Duke of Saxony died, his three sonnes being yet under age, injoyed three Bishopricks, namely, those of Misen, Nauberg, and Mersberg, though the Emperor and the Gentlemen of those parts in a Provinciaall meeting, were instant to have three Bishops chosen, and the Emperour desired that dignity for one of his brothers. The same three Princes yet being under age, I did see coynes of Gold and Silver bearing the images of all three: but when they came to age, the Electorship and the Inheritance belonging to it, fell to the eldest sonne, the younger retaining the said Bishopricks for life, and their part of other lands that might bee divided, for inheritance to them and their children. [III. iv. 214.]

The Fees of Princes are given by the Emperour, and the Fees of many Gentlemen and of some Earles are given by Princes: but I returne to the Lawes of Succession.

By the Civil law, they that descend of the right line, have the first place in succession, al which without respect of sex or fatherly power, do succede equally, the sons by the Pole, the nephewes to their part, namely, to the part which their father should have had, if he had been then living; so as it seemes, that fower or more nephewes, the sons of a third brother dead, dividing with two brothers living, all the nephewes shall only have a third part, belonging to their father being dead, and each of the two living brothers shall have another third part. The Law of Saxony changeth nothing touching the persons, but differs in the succession of goods: For the daughters shall by priviledge have their mothers apparrell, and other ornaments, with all utensiles (or household stufte), so as they shall be valued to them in their due parts. And the niece, borne of one of the sisters being dead, hath the same right with the other sisters for her mothers part: but none can have these utensiles, save the women on the mothers side, (vulgarly called Spielmagen), for the

*The succession  
of goods.*

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brothers daughter hath no right to them. And I have heard of learned men, that these utensiles cannot bee alienated by the last testament, namely, vessels of brasse (but not of pewter), linnen, beds (excepting the heires of Inne-keepers, whose chiefe wealth commonly consists in such furniture) also sheep, geese, jewels of gold, and like ornaments of the mother, excepting the seale ring of gold, and pearles, and other jewels, which men use to weare as well as women. By a Law made in the Dukedome of Meckelburg, because the women in the yeere 1388 redeemed their captive Prince with their Jewels, many priviledges of succession are granted to women. By the Law of Saxony, as the utensiles belong to the daughters, so besides the decree of the Civill Law, in the Knightly Order all goods of expedition (as Armes, and the like) belong to the sonnes, and the sword is alwaies given to the eldest sonne. But these things are not observed among those of common or plebeian ranck, except custome have made them as Law, so as the Daughters by custome have the utensiles, and the eldest sonne have the chiefe horse for the plough. I have formerly said, that by the Law of Saxony, the nephew is excluded from succeeding in a Fee with his uncle on the fathers side (that is, his fathers brother), but that in our daies the nephew is admitted according to the Civill law. I have said, that in the succession of moveable goods, the sonnes succede the father by the Pole: but the nephewes (or sonnes of another sonne deceased) succede their Grand-father onely in the part belonging to their father. I have said, that the Law of Saxony changeth nothing touching the persons, but only differs in the succession to some goods, as the utensiles. Now I adde further, that the nephewes succession and equall division with his fathers brothers, is decreed by an Imperiall Law, abrogating all contrary customes.

*When the  
deceased hath  
no heires.*

By the Civill Law, brothers on both sides, and together with them, the children of their dead brothers and sisters, are then first called to inheritance, when the deceased hath

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no heires in the right line descending or ascending: but without any respect to the Imperiall said Law, (as speaking of custome, not written Law), or to the last Civill Law, the Law of Saxony decrees, and of old custome it is observed among the Saxons, that in the succession of Collaterals, the living brother excludes the children of his dead brother, (I say in freehold, not in fee) and the brother on both sides excludes the brother on the one side onely in the third degree, and the brother on both sides excludes the children of his dead brother in the third degree. But [III.iv.215.] I have observed that this law is thus practised among the Saxons, as imagining there be three brothers, Thomas, John, and Andrew, and it happening, that Thomas first dies leaving a sonne, and then John dies unmarried, or without issue, the goods of John at his death shall not fall to the sonne of Thomas his eldest brother, but to his brother Andrew yet living; and Andrew dying last, as well his owne as his brother Johns goods fall to his owne sonne: but if he have no sonne, then they fall to the sonne of Thomas. And againe putting the case, that Thomas and John are both dead, and each of them hath left a sonne or sonnes, if Andrew die without a sonne, the sonne of Thomas succedes him, without any respect to the sonne of John. By the Civill law, the uncle of the deceased by the fathers side, is not onely excluded by the brother of the deceased, but also by the brothers children: but by the Law of Saxony, since the right of representation simply hath no place, and these persons are in the same degree, namely, in the third degree, they are called together to the inheritance, yet the Scabines (or Judges) of Leipzig, have pronounced the contrary to this judgement of the Judges in the highest Court of the Duke of Saxony, rather following the Civill Law, which preferres the brothers sonne, before the uncle on the fathers side. By the Civill Law in the successions of Collaterals, the brothers of both sides are for a double bond preferred to the brothers by one parent only, so as the privileged be not extended to things in Fee, but to



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things in free-hold; because in Fees the bond on the mothers side is not regarded. By the Law of Saxony a brother on both sides excludes a brother by one parent, as nearer by one degree.

*Bastards.* By the Civill law Bastards are admitted to the inheritance of the mother, and the brother lawfully begotten is called to the inheritance of a dead bastard brother by the said mother, but by the Law of Saxony, as a bastard cannot bee admitted to inherit with one lawfully begotten, so he that is lawfully begotten, cannot succede a bastard, that is not legitimated, and by the law of Saxony a mother having a bastard daughter, and dying without any other child, cannot leave her utensile goods to that daughter. Yet in all cases concerning bastards, the Judges leave the law of Saxony as unequall, and judge after the Civill law, so as in Saxony bastards both succeed, and are succeeded unto, and alwaies part of the goods is given, if not by law, yet by equitie, to maintaine the bastards, and the Interpreters will have the law of Saxony understood of those, that are borne in incest, who have not the benefit of legitimation. By the Civill law he that is borne in the seventh moneth after marriage, is reputed lawfully begotten: but by the law of Saxony, hee is reputed a bastard that is borne before the due time; yet because Phisitians agree, that the seventh moneth may be called due time, in custome and practise the law of Saxony agrees with the Civill law.

*Posthumus children.* By the Civill Law the Testament is broken by the birth of a Posthumus, (that is, a sonne borne after his fathers death), if it give no part to this child; so the birth be proved by two witnesses: but by the Law of Saxony foure men by hearesay, and two women by sight, must testifie the birth. In the Civill Law it is controverted how sonnes of brothers shall succeed the unkle by the fathers side; and the greater part saith, that they succeed to the parts of the brothers: so as one child of a brother shall have as much as two or more children of another brother: but by the Law of Saxony when the inheritance falls to any

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that are not brothers and sisters, they succeed by pole, so as one brother having many children, each of them shall have equall part with the onely child of another brother; and if they be further off in degrees, those that are equall in degree, have equall portions. But both these Lawes are made to agree by a Statute of the Emperour Charles the fifth in the yeere 1539, whereby it is determined that the sonnes of brothers shall not succeed to parts, but by pole, to the Unkle by the Fathers side; notwithstanding any Statute or custome to the contrary.

By the Civill Law the division of Inheritance must be made by Lots, and if the parts be not so made equall, the Judge must determine it; but by the Law of Saxony, if there be onely two persons, the elder devideth, and the yonger chuseth, and if there be more persons, then according to the Civill Law, the inheritance is divided equally, and they cast lots for their parts.

*Division by  
Lots.*

[III. iv. 216.]

In this devision I have observed such equity among the Saxons, as if one sonne of a Citizen, have beene brought up in the University, or instructed in any Art or Science at the Fathers charge, some thing shall be taken from his part, and given to the other brothers wanting like education, or being tender in yeeres: And the Germans being lesse apt to disagreement, seldome goe to Law about inheritance, and if any difference happen, an Arbiter is appointed, and the Magistrate determines it with expedition. By the Civill Law the Sonne of a banished man is deprived of his Fathers inheritance, but by the Law of Saxony he shall enjoy it.

By the Civill Law the degrees of Consanguinity end in the tenth degree, excepting Barrons and noble persons, who dying without heires, the kinsmen succede, though it be in the hundreth degree; and if all the Family of a King should die, and leave no man neerer then one of the old blood removed a thousand degrees, yet hee should succeed in the Kingdome. The degree of Consanguinity by the Law of Saxony, ends in the seventh degree, for that is the tenth by the Civill Law, the sonnes of two brothers

*Degrees of  
Consan-  
guinity.*

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being by the Law of Saxony in the first degree, who by the Civill Law, are in the fourth degree. By the Civill Law Cities howsoever priviledged, cannot possesse the vacant goods of men dying without heires, but they fall to the Emperour; but by the Law of Saxony Cities that have absolute power, confiscate these goods by custome, so as the goods of a stranger, or any dying without heires, are brought to the Judges of the place, who keepe them for one whole yeere: yea, they challenge unmoveable goods, but with prescription of yeeres: And these goods use to be converted to godly uses, and I have observed some to be deeply fined, for fraudulent detaining these goods.

*Restraint of  
him that is of  
age.*

By the Civill Law he that is of age, so he be in his wits, and no prodigall person, may freely sell, give, or by any course alienate his goods: but by the Law of Saxony this power is restrained, for no man without the consent of the next heires can alienate unmoveable goods gotten by his Progenitors, (vulgarly called Stamgütter), but onely for godly uses, or dowries given upon marriage, (for contracts of dowry are of force for use and property without consent of the heires, though made after the marriage, if the guift be confirmed by the givers death): but if any man will sell his Progenitors goods, first by the Civill Law he must offer them to be bought to the next heires, and they refusing to buy them, he may then freely sell them to any man, and if they were never offered to the heires, notwithstanding the possession is transferred, but the heires have an action for their interest.

*Weakeness.*

By the Civill Law, weakenesse (as of old age) doth not make the guift of lesse force: but by the Law of Saxony, a man or woman sicke to death, cannot without the consent of the heires, give any goods above the value of five shillings, so as a certaine solemnity is required among the sicke, and also those that are healthfull, in the gift of any moveable or unmoveable goods: For among the sicke or healthfull, he that will give any goods, if he be of Knightly Order, hee must be of that strength, as armed with his Sword and Target, he can upon a stone or block

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an ell high mount his horse, and his servant is admitted also to hold his stirrop. If he be a Citizen, he must be able to walke in the way, to draw his Sword, and to stand upright before the Judge, while the gift is made: And a Clowne must be able to follow the Plow one morning. Lastly, a woman must be of that strength, as shee can goe to the Church of a certaine distance, and there stand so long till the guift be made: but these things are understood of guifts among the living, not of guifts upon death. By the Civill Law guifts are of force, though made out of the place where the goods are seated: but by the Law of Saxony for unmoveable goods the guift must bee made in the place, and before the Judge of the place, where the goods are seated, onely some cases excepted.

By the Civill Law, the heire that makes no Inventory, is tied to the Creditors, above the goods of Inheritance; but by the Law of Saxony he is neither tied to make an Inventory, nor to pay further then the goods of the deceased extend. By the Civill Law, within ten dayes, [III.iv.217.] and by the Law of Saxony, within thirty dayes after the death of him that dies, the heire may not be troubled by the creditors. An Imperiall Statute decrees, that he who makes a Testament, must be in his right mind, so as he speakes to the purpose, and must have witnesses, who have no profit by his Testament, and such as themselves have power to make a Testament. Hee that disinherites the next heire, is bound to give him a lawfull legacy according to his goods. By the Civill Law leproous persons and borne unperfect, are not excluded from inheriting: but by the Law of Saxony, the lame, dumbe, blind, leproous, and the like, are not capable of inheritance, or fee, yet if any man after his succession shall become leproous, he shall enjoy the inheritance.

By the Law of Saxony, Tutorage belongs onely to the Kinsmen, by the Fathers side, and not (as by the Civill Law) to all in the same degree, but ever to the next, and if many be in the same next degree, then to the eldest of them only, yet so as the danger of Tutorage belongs



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*Tutorage.*

to all together. Thus Christian Duke of Saxony dying, the Duke of Winberg only, (not the Duke of Coburg in the same degree with him) was Tutor to his children, though the Electorship was taken from their Grandfather, and given to this Family with great and just envy by the Emperour Charles the fifth. In common judgement, especialy respecting such cases, the kinsmen on the mothers side seeme more fit to be Tutors, who have no profit, but rather losse by the death of the Pupill, whereas the kinsmen on the Fathers side are heires to him. Yet the common practise to the contrary, (as in this particular example) produceth no tragicall events among the Germans, being of a good and peaceable nature. By the Civill Law, a Pupill is said to be in minority till he be five and twenty yeeres old, and the tutorage ceaseth, and the Pupil is capable of investiture at ripe age, namely the Male at foureteene, the female at twelve yeeres age: but by the law of Saxony the Pupill is said to be in minority till he be 21 yeeres old, and the Male is capable to be invested in his fee when he is 13 yeeres & six weeks old: for the Saxons make difference between these two things, Binnen Jahren unnd binnen Tagen, that is, under yeeres, and under daies: for the Pupill is held under yeeres for inheritance til he be foureteen yeeres old, and for Fees till he be thirteene yeeres and six weekes old: but he is held under daies or in minority, till he be twenty one yeeres old. The Imperial law of the golden Bulla notwithstanding, makes the Electors sonnes to be of ripe age, and free from Tutors at eightene yeeres age. I have observed that Tutors in Saxony allow the Pupils five in the hundreth for all their money which they have in their hands. Females are under Tutors till they marrie, and they cannot marrie without their consent, but refusing to give consent, they are bound to yeeld a reason thereof before the Judges, lest they should fraudulently denie consent. By the Civill Law the Tutor is not bound to give account, till the Tutorage be ended, but the Administrator may yeerely be called to account, and the eldest

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brother must give account to the younger, of the inheritance which hee administred undevide: but by the Law of Saxony, if the Tutor be not heire to the Pupill, (as the Kinsman by the Fathers side, while the Mother lives, who excludes him from succession), he is tied yeerely to give account, but if he be heire to the Pupill, he is not bound to give account, which notwithstanding is restrained to Parents and Brothers, who for reverence of the blood, and naturall affection, are freed from suspition of fraud or fault, especially where the administration is of goods, which either they possesse with the Pupils undevide, or in which they have right of succession. Also by the Law of Saxony, the elder brother (when his brother hath no mother living) as heire to his brother, is not tied to give account to his brother, or to his joynt heire for the administration of a common and undevide Inheritance. In like sort by the Civill Law, the Tutor is bound to give sureties or sufficient caution, for preserving the Pupils goods; but by the Law of Saxony, (as formerly), if the Tutor bee heire to the Pupill, or joint heire with him in undevide Inheritance, hee is not tied thereunto. By the Civil Law whatsoever falls to the sonne in the power of the Father, of his mothers goods, either by Testament of the Mother, or from her dying intestate, the Father shall have the use and full administration thereof for his life, and for the confidence and reverence of a Father, hee is not tied to give sureties or caution for using or restoring those goods to his sonne, as others having like use thereof are bound to doe, yet so as in regard of this use for life, the Father is bound according to his power to give a gift in marriage to his sonne leaving him: but the mother hath no right to the use of her sonnes goods. By the Law of Saxony, the use is so long granted to the Father, till his children depart from him: but the Lawyers so interpret this, if the Father be cause of the separation; for if the Sonne will depart of his owne motion, except he be out of minority, and will take upon him the care of a Family, the Father shall retaine the use, and is bound after to

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restore these goods, except they perish by misfortune without his fault. And the same Law, is for the Mother also, touching the goods of her Sonne, when the Father is dead: but the Law concerning the Father, must be understood of the unmoveable goods falling unto the Son from the Mother.

By the Civill Law the Father and Mother, or others in the ascending line, succeed the Sonne or Daughter dying, in equall portions with the Brothers and Sisters: but by the Law of Saxony, the Parents of the Sonne dead, or if they be dead, the Grandfather and Grandmother, or any ascendants whatsoever, exclude brothers and sisters by both Parents, and collaterals whatsoever; and indeed by the Law the Father alone succeeds the dying Sonne or Daughter, excluding the Mother, excepting the utensile goods, in which the Mother is preferred: but by the late Statute of the Electors, this Law is changed, so as the Father and Mother succeed together: yet these things must be understood of the goods in freehold; for in Fees they of the ascendant line succeed not the descendants, but as every stranger may succeed, by contract expressed in the investiture. By the Civill Law the Father cannot make a gift to the Sonne being under his power: but by the Law of Saxony he may, yet the sonne receiving the gift, is bound to acknowledge it when his Father dies, and to abate so much of his portion in the division with his brothers, if it be of any value, and not given to supply his wants at that time: And by both Lawes the gift is good from the Father to the Sonne going to warfare.

*The Wife's  
Rights.*

By the Civill Law the Wife in time of marriage, may have goods, in which the Husband hath no right, either to alienate or to administer them, as those goods which shee brings to her Husband above her dowry, and never gives them to him: but by the Law of Saxony the Man and Wife have all goods in common, so as all are said to be the Husbands, and the Wife can call nothing her owne, and the Husband hath the use of all without exception, even while they live together, for the burthens he beares,

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yet he hath not the property of these goods, onely they both possesse them undevide so long as they live together. The Husband at marriage takes his wife and all her goods into his tuition, but this tuition is onely understood for the use, which ends when the wife dies, but the wife hath not like use in her husbands goods: And the husband in administring the goods of his wife, must deale honestly, and neither sell nor ingage them, because he is onely her Tutor. By the Civill Law the wife hath power, without the presence or consent of her husband, to give or alienate her moveable or unmoveable goods, onely during the marriage shee cannot give away her dowry to the prejudice of her husband, without his consent; but by the Law of Saxony, the wife cannot give her unmoveable goods, nor sell or alienate any goods without her husbands consent, because shee is under his power as her Tutor. Yea, the wife cannot give her goods to her husband, because hee being her Tutor, cannot bee actor to his owne profit: but if before the Magistrate shee chuse another Tutor, by whose authority the gift is made, then it is of force. For in all cases in which a gift betweene man and wife is of force by the Civill Law, in the same cases at this day by custome it is of force among the Saxons, so as the former manner be observed: But all these things of the Wives gift to her Husband, and of alienating her goods by contract, (which shee cannot make without the consent of the Husband her Tutor), are not understood of the alienation by her last Will and Testament. For by the Law of Saxony it is controverted, whether the wife may give a gift to her husband at her death, without the authority of the foresaid Tutor chosen by her, and if it be given without the same, whether after the death of the wife, (according to the Civill Law) this gift be confirmed. And some interpreters say, that the same authority of a chosen Tutor, and the same solemnity is required, as in a gift betweene the living, others determine that the gift at death without a Tutor is of force, so it be made before the Judge,

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because it is not a simple giving, but participates some thing of the last Will and Testament, and for that cause five witnesses are required to it, or that it be registred; which done, the gift is of force, because favour is to be given to the last Testament, which must not be captious, but free. Also because he that is of ripe age, but in minority, though hee cannot give or contract without the authority of his Tutor, yet hee may give for death. And so it is concluded, that in doubtfull cases the gift must be favoured, that it may subsist, rather then be made voyd. Lastly, the Law of Saxony in this, consents with the Civill Law; that a wife may make a Will, and for death give her unmovable goods to any other but her husband, without the consent of the husband her Tutor. But by the Statute of the Elector, the gift of utensile goods made to the husband in prejudice of her next kinswoman, is of so little force, as with death it is not confirmed, except it be remuneratory. Yet among the living, this gift of stufte (as some restraine it, so it be not to the husband) is of force, if it be made before a Notary, and with witnesses. By the Civill Law, the husband may not have the care of his wives goods, lest she upon affection shuld remit his ill administration, and so shuld be in danger to loose the goods of her dowry: but by the Law of Saxony, presently upon mariage, the husband is lawful Tutor to his wife. By the civil law the dowry of the wife given by her father, upon the death of the wife, returnes to the father, except it be covenanted to the contrary in the contract of the dowry: but by the law of Saxony, the husband upon his wives death, gaines all moveable goods, and so much of the dowry as was in ready mony, except it be expressly covenanted to the contrary in the contract of the dowry, and all the goods of the wife above that shee brought in dowry, fall to the husband, nothing excepted, but onely the utensile goods, yet this Law is not extended to the perpetuall and yeerely rents of the wife, which are reputed unmoveable goods. By the Civill Law, if either the man or the wife marry the second time, the party may in no

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case give more to the second husband or wife, then to the children of the first marriage, but among the Saxons this Law is abolished by contrary custome, so as not onely the Stepmothers use to have much more of the husbands goods, then the children of the first marriage, but on the other side also, the second husbands upon the death of the second wife, being to have all her moveable goods, excepting the utensiles, commonly gaine more then her children of her first marriage.

By the Civill Law, a Widdow retaines the dwelling house, honour, and dignity of her Husband deceased, till shee marry to another, and by the Law of Saxony the dead Husband leaves his widdow the right of his Family and blood, and custome so interprets this Law, as all priviledges and dignities are thereby granted, as by the Civil law. Widows & Virgins by the Law of Saxony, if they be of such age as they have no Tutors, may give or alienate their goods, which a wife cannot do, being under the Tutorage of her husband: yet the interpreters restraine this to movable goods, being otherwise in unmovable goods, but by last wil & testament they may dispose of both. *Widdows.*

By the Civill Law, if there bee no Letters of Dowry or Jointure, the Husband dying, the Wife must have the fourth part of his goods: but in some parts of Saxony the custome is, that the Wife being a Widdow, shal have the third part of her Husbands goods, as it is in all Misen: but in other parts, as in Thuring, the Civill Law is observed, and shee hath the fourth part, if the Husband leave but 3 or foure children, but if he have more, then the widdow hath onely an equall part with each of them: But in Misen the wife hath not the utensile goods, which use not to bee given to women having a third part. And moreover the widdow is tied not onely to leave her owne goods, but her part of goods gotten in marriage by her husband, and whatsoever her friends gave to her in the life of her husband, or shee any way gained, to their children at her death, whether shee gave them to her

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husband in time of his life, or no, for it is alwayes presumed that shee got these things out of her husbands goods: And if in any place there be no custome to determine this, then the widow besides her fourth, or equall part, hath also the utensile goods. And in case the husband leave no children, then the widow hath her choise, whether shee will receive the third part, or renouncing the same, will retaine utensile goods, and all other her owne goods movable or unmovable, together with her dowry. But if the husband leave children, the widow hath not this choise, but must renounce all the rest, and sticke to her third part. And by custome of the Country, her dowry and gift for mariage is doubled; so as shee that brought one thousand guldens for her dowry, shall have two thousand guldens in the division of her husbands inheritance. And the right which married parties by statute have in one anothers goods, cannot be taken from them by last Will and Testament. Discoursing with men of experience, I heard that the widowes of Princes, whiles they remaine widowes, possesse all their husbands estate (excepting the Electorships, which the next kinsman by the Fathers side administers by his right, during the minority of the sonne) and injoy also the tutorage of their children: but if they marry againe, the country frees it selfe from them, with giving them a tun of gold for Dowry. And that the Daughters of Princes have Dowries from the subjects by subsidies collected, & use to swear before the Chancellor, that their husbands being dead, or upon any accident whatsoever, they will not retourne to burthen the Country. That the Daughters of Gentlemen never marry to any of inferior degree then Gentlemen, (which is constantly kept by both sexes) and are commonly bestowed with a small Dowry: and since by the Law they cannot succeed in fees, have at the parents death only a part of their movable goods with the utensils proper to them: and one sister dying, her portion goes not to the brothers or their children: as also the married Sister dying, and leaving no Daughter, her portion goes not to

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her own sons, (except living & in health she bequeathed it to them in her Testament) but to the Neece on the Mothers side. Lastly, that in case the goods of a dead woman are neither given by her last Testament, nor any Kinswoman to her on the Mothers side can bee found, her goods goe not to her owne Sonnes or male-Kinsmen, but are confiscated to the Prince, or in free Cities to the Commonwealth.

It is said that the Roman Emperor Caracalla was wont to say, that only that Nation knew how to rule their wives, which added the feminine article to the Sunne, and the masculine to the Moone; as the Gerinans doe, saying; Die Sonn unnd der Mone. And no doubt the Germans are very churlish to their wives, and keep them servily at home: so as my selfe in Saxony have seene many wives of honest condition and good estate, to dresse meat in the kitchen, and scarce once in the weeke to eate with their husbands, but apart with the maides; and after the meale, to come and take away their husbands table; and if they came to sit with him at table, yet to sit downe at the lower end, at least under all the men. My selfe have seene husbands of like quality to chide their wives bitterly, till they wept abundantly, and the same wives (of good ranke) very soone after to bring a chaire to the husband, and serve him with a trencher and other necessities. The men being invited to friends houses, or any solemne feasts, never goe in company with their wives, who goe alone with their faces covered. It is no novelty for a husband to give a box on the eare to his wife. And they scoffe at the Law in Nurnberg, which fines the husband three or foure Dollers for striking his wife, as a most unjust Law. It is ridiculous to see the wives of German foote-soldiers going to the warre, laded with burthens like she-Asses, while the men carry not so much as their own clokes, but cast them also upon the womens shoulders. And I should hardly beleeeve that the Germans can love their wives, since love is gained by lovelinesse, as the Poet saith:

*The degrees in  
Family.*

*First the  
Wives.*



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ut ameris amabilis esto.

He that for love doth thirst,  
Let him be loving first.

But they while they commaund all things imperiously, in the meane time neither for dulnes court them with any pleasant speech, nor in curtesie grace them in publike, so much as with a kisse. It is a common saying,

[III. iv. 221.]

Dotem accepi, Imperium vendidi.

I tooke a Dowry with my Wife,  
And lost the freedome of my life.

But howsoever the Germans have great Dowries in marriage, and their Wives have power to make a Testament, for disposing their goods, with many like priviledges; and howsoever they be also provoked with these injuries, yet the men keep them within termes of duty. May not we then justly marvell, that Englishmen having great power over their Wives, so as they can neither give any thing in life, nor have power to make a will at death, nor can call any thing their owne, no not so much as their garters, yea, the Law (I must confesse too severely) permitting the Husband in some cases to beate his Wife, and yet the Husbands notwithstanding all their priviledges, using their Wives with all respect, and giving them the cheefe seates with all honours and preheminences, so as for the most part, they would carry burthens, goe on foote, fast, and suffer any thing, so their Wives might have ease, ride, feast, and suffer nothing, notwithstanding, no people in the World, (that ever I did see) beare more scornes, indignities, and injuries, from the pampered sort of Women, then they doe. Surely either these our Women want the modesty of the Wives, or else our Men have not, I will not say the severity, (which I lesse approve), but rather the gravity and constancy of the Husbands in Germany.

*Of servants.*

But while the Germans thus use their Wives like Servants, they behave themselves as Companions towards

## OF DEGREES IN THE FAMILY

A.D.  
1605-17.

their Servants, who bring in meate to the Table with their heads covered, and continually talke with their Masters without any reverence of the cap or like duty.

The Germans are neither too indulgent, nor too sterne to their sonnes and daughters, yet they give them no tender education, but as they bring their children naked into the hot stoaves, so they expose them naked to frost and snow. Neither doe they exact any humility or respect from their children, who in all places are familiar with their Parents, & never stir their hats when they speak to them, & when they goe to bed they aske not blessing on their knees, as our children doe, but shake hands with them, which is a signe of familiarity among friends in Germany, as in most other places.

*Of Sons and  
Daughters.*

A Gentleman never so poore, will not marry the richest Merchants Daughter, nor a Gentlewoman upon any condition any other then a Gentleman: Neither is there any juster cause of disinheriting, then base marriage, which pollution of blood the Kinsmen will not suffer, as in our age hath beene seene by notable examples: One in the House of Austria, whereof the Arch-Duke of Inspruch married the Daughter of a Citizen in Augsburg, which his Kinsmen would not suffer, till he conditioned, that her children should not succeed him in his Fees, as they did not, though at this time they were living. The other of an Earle, who marrying the Daughter of a Citizen in Nurnberg, was cast in prison by his Kinsmen till he left her. Hee is not accounted a Gentleman, who is not so by foure descents at the least, both by the Fathers and the Mothers side; and I remember that the Monkes of Luneburg by Statute may not admit any man into their number, who hath not eight degrees on both sides: yea, the Germans are so superstitious in this kind, as a Gentleman may have an action against him, who saith hee is no Gentleman. For the better conjecture of Gentlemens estimation in Germany, I remember one of the cheefe called Von (of) Shulenburg, whom I did see, and hee was said to have foureteene thousand gold Guldens yeerely rent,

*The degrees in  
Common-  
wealth.*

*Gentlemen.*

1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[III.iv.222.]

and never to ride without forty or fifty Horse to attend him : But I cannot sufficiently marvell, that the Gentlemen, howsoever sometimes learned, yet proudly despise Graduates of the University, no lesse or more then Merchants, which I found, not onely by common practice, but also by my private experience : For conversing with a Gentleman, hee perceiving that I spake Latin better then hee thought became a Gentleman, asked mee how long I did study in the University ; and when I said that I was Master of Arts, (which degree our best Gentlemen disdaine not), I found that hee did after esteeme mee as a Pedant, whereupon finding by discourse with others, that Gentlemen dispipe these degrees, I forbore after to make this my degree knowne to any : And it seemed more strange to me, that Gentlemen first rising by learning, warfare, and trafficke, they onely judge warfare worthy to raise and continue Gentlemen : but indeed the trafficke of Germany is poore, being cheefly of things wrought by manuell Artists, which they have some pretence to disdaine, whereas in Italy trafficke is the sinew of the Commonwealth, which the most noble disdaine not : And it were to be wished, that in England (where trafficke is no lesse noble) the practice thereof were no staine to Gentry. When I told an English Gentleman the pride of the Gentlemen in Germany, despising degrees of Learning, and he heard that the Gentlemen were vulgarly called Edelman, he pleasantly said, that they were so called of the English words, Idle Men. The Gentlemen of Germany beare the Armes of their Mother, though shee be no Heire, as well as of their Father, and commonly they joine to them, in steede of a mot or sentence, certaine great letters, that signifie words, as D.H.I.M.T. signifying Der herr Ist Mein Trost, that is ; The Lord is my comfort, and likewise F.S.V. signifying Fide sed vide, that is, Trust, but beware. Also Citizens and Artists, beare Armes of their owne invention, and tricked out fully as the Armes of Gentlemen, onely the helmet is close, which Gentlemen beare open.

## OF THE ORDERS OF KNIGHTS

A.D.  
1605-17.

*The generall  
Orders of  
Knights.*

Among the generall Orders of Knights, into which Gentlemen of all nations are admitted, the Templaries in the yeere 1124, were confirmed by Pope Honorius, being so called of the Temple at Jerusalem, in part whereof they dwelt. Histories report that Pope Gregory the ninth incited them to doe great damage by their treachery to the Emperour Fredericke, making the holy warre in Asia. At last the inducing of heathenish Religion, all kinds of lust and intemperance, and the suspicion of their conspiring with the Turkes, or the feare of their too great power, made Pope Clement the fifth, a Frenchman, and residing at Avignon, first to extinguish the Order in France, then in all Christendome, in the yeere 1312; The second Order of the Johanites (or Saint John), was instituted by Balduine the second King of Jerusalem. Then in the yeere 1308, they tooke the Ile of Rhodes, and were called the Knights of Rhodes, till they were expelled thence by the Turkes, in the yeere 1522, and then possessing the Iland of Malta, they are to this day called the Knights of Malta: And great part of the Templaries rents, was given to this Order, into which of old none but Gentlemen were admitted. The third Order of the Teutonikes, that is, Germans, was instituted in the yeere 1190, in the time of the Emperour Henry the sixth. They were called Hospitals of the Hospitall which they kept neere the Sepulcher of Christ, to entertaine Pilgrimes: At last all Christians being driven out of Palestine, they removed their seate to Venice, whence being called by the Duke of Moscovy against the Prussians, they seated themselves in Prussia, Livonia, and Curlandia. They were all borne of noble Parents, and did weare a white cloake, with a black crosse. The Polonians in the yeere 1410, killed the Master of the Order, and many thousands of the Knights. When many Cities under the protection of the King of Poland, sought their liberty in the yeere 1450, and this Order had wonne a battell against the King, at last because the Citizens refused to pay the Souldiers, the Knights them-

*The Order of  
the German  
Knights.*



A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*Upon the  
dissolution of  
this Order,  
the Duke of  
Prussia was  
created.*

selves betrayed their Cities to the Polonians, and after much blood shed on both parts, at last in the yeere 1466, peace was made, with covenants, that the King of Poland should have Pomerella with other Castles and Townes, and that the Order should retaine Kingspurg.

And finally in the yeere 1547, this Order was totally extinguished, the Master thereof being (as they said) forced to these conditions, namely that Albert Marquesse of Brandeburg, (being of the Electors Family) then Master of the Order, should become vassall to the King of Poland, and should possesse Konigspurg with title of a Duke, to him and his brethren of the same venter, and their Heires Males for ever: (In which Dukedome were fifty foure Castles and eighty sixe Townes). Moreover that the said Duke should take new Armes, and a Dukall habit, and when hee came to doe his homage at Crakaw in Poland, should have his seate by the Kings side, but that upon Male Heires failing, the Dukedome should fall to the Kingdome of Poland, which was to provide for the Daughter and Heire according to her degree, and to appoint no other Governour of the Province, then a German having inheritance in Prussia. In the time of my being at Dantzke, it was said, that Duke Albert was growne into a Frensie, by a poysoned cup given him, at his marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of Cleve: and the common speech was, that the eldest sonne to the Elector of Brandeburg was daily expected in the Dukes Court, to marry the Daughter and Heire to the sickely Duke, to whom himselfe was next of kinne by the Fathers side, and Heire. And it was a common speech, that the said sickely Duke had lately lent forty thousand Guldens to the King of Poland, and that the Elector of Brandeburg had offered seven Tunnes of gold to the King of Poland, that his Grandchild might succeed in the Dukedome of Prussia, but that it was flatly refused by the Senate of Poland: so as it was diversly thought, according to mens divers judgements, what would become of the Dukedome after the said sickly Dukes death, some judg-

## OF THE ORDERS OF KNIGHTS

A.D.  
1605-17.

ing that the King of Poland would keepe the Dukedome falling to him, others that the powerfull Family of Brandeburg, would extort the possession thereof, by force of money, or of armes.

I omit the military Orders of Knights in England, France, and Netherland, to be mentioned in their due place.

Among the Germans I could not observe any ordinary degree of Knights, conferred in honour upon such as deserve well in civill and warlike affaires, such as the Kings of England give to their Subjects, with the title of Sir to distinguish them from inferiour Gentlemen: But in our age we have seene Master Arundell an English Gentleman, created Earle of the Empire for his acceptable services to the Emperour. Christian Elector of Saxony deceased, did institute a military Order of Knights, like to the Teutonike Order, save that it is no Religious Order; and he called it, Die gulden gesellschaft, that is, the Golden Fellowship, by which bond hee tied his nearest friends to him: And the badge of the Order, was a Jewell, hanging in a chaine of gold, having on each side of the Jewell engraven a Heart pierced with a Sword and a Shaft, and upon one side neere the Heart, was the Image of Faith holding a Crucifix, with these words graven about the Heart; Virtutis amore, that is, for love of Vertue, upon the other side neere the Heart was the Image of Constancie holding an Anker, with these words graven about the Heart, Qui per severat ad finem, salvus erit, that is: He that perseveres to the end shall be saved. Lastly, about the circle of the Jewell, these great letters were engraven: F.S.V.: that is, Fide, sed vide, namely in English, Trust, but beware.

*The ordinary degree of Knighthood in Germany.*

The Provinces of the reformed Religion, have no Bishops, but the revenues of the Bishopricks are either converted to godly uses, or possessed by the Princes, under the title of Administrators: And in like manner the revenues of Monasteries for the most part are employed to maintaine Preachers, and to other godly uses;

*Bishops.*

A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

but in some places they still permit Monkes and Nunnes, (I meane persons living single, but not tied with Papisti-call vowes), for the education of their children, and the nourishing of the poore. In each City, and each Church of the City, many Ministers or Preachers serve, who have no tythes, but onely live upon Pensions, commonly small, and not much unequall: For Ministers commonly have one or two hundreth Guldens, and the Superintendants one or two thousand Guldens by the yeere, besides wood for fier, and Corne, and some like necessities for food. These Superintendants are instead of Bishops, to oversee the Cleargy, but are not distinguished in habite or title of dignity from the other Ministers: yet to them as cheefe in vertue and learning, as well the Ministers as all other degrees yeeld due reverence, and in all Ecclesiasticall causes they have great authority: But otherwise Germany hath many rich and potent Bishops, of whom generall mention is made in the Chapter of Proverbs, and particularly in this Chapter, much hath beene said of the three spirituall Electors.

*Husbandmen.*

[III. iv. 224.]

The Husbandmen in Germany are not so base as the French and Italians, or the slaves of other Kingdomes, but much more miserable and poore then the English Husbandmen: yet those of Prussia, a fat and fertile Country, come neere to the English in riches and good fare. The other being hired by Gentlemen to plough their grounds, give their services at low rates, and pay so great rent, to their Lords, as they have scarcely meanes to cover nakednes with poore clothes, and to feed themselves with ill smelling coleworts and like meate. In Moravia incorporated to Bohemia, and lying betweene it and Polonia, the husbandmen are meere slaves. And at my being there I heard that the Barron of Promnitz having been lately in Italy, did make free a slave of his, who was there a Potecary, and gave him a present. Also I understood by discourse, that the Marquesse of Anspach in Germany, hath many meere slaves for his husbandmen. But all other in Germany are free, howsoever without

## OF THE HUSBANDMEN

A.D.  
1605-17.

doubt they be greatly oppressed not only by the Gentry, but also by the Churchmen, so as wee find in late histories, that the Bawren (or clownes) in the yeare 1502 made a rebellion, perhaps with the mind after the example of the Sweitzers to get liberty by the sword, but yet pretending only revenge upon Bishops and Churchmen, proverbially saying that they would not suffer them to draw breath. And it is probable that the neighbourhood of the Sweitzers, who rooted out their Noblemen, & got liberty by the sword, makes the Gentlemen of Germany lesse cruell towards the poore clownes. For either upon that cause, or for the fertility of the Country, no doubt the clownes in Suevia and places neare Sweitzerland, live much better then in any other parts; as likewise in places neere Denmarke and Poland, admitting slaves generally, the poore people are more oppressed then any where else through Germany.

In Bohemia the highest degree is that of Barons, and the Gentlemen have the same priviledges with them; all other in townes and fields are meere slaves, excepting Cities immediatly subject to the Emperour as King of Bohemia, where many are either emancipated for mony, or find more clemency under the yoke of a German Prince. For in lands belonging to the Barons and Gentlemen, the King hath no tribute, but all is subject to the Lord, with absolute power of life and death; as likewise the King hath his lands, and some thirty Cities in like sort subject to him. And howsoever the Gentlemen doe not commonly exercise this power against the people, lest the Germans should repute them tyrants, yet with wonder I did heare at Prage; that a Baron had lately hanged one of his slaves, for stealing of a fish. It is free for a Gentleman to hang any of his slaves for going into strange Countries without being made free, if he can apprehend him. Many times they give them leave to goe into forraigne parts, to learne manuary arts, but they call them home at pleasure, and when they come back, make them worke for the Lords behoofe. They take their Daughters

*The degrees in  
Bohemia.*



A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

for mayd servants, and Sonnes for houshold servants at pleasure. And these poore slaves can leave their children nothing by last Will and Testament, but all their goods, in life and at death, belong to the Lords; and they will find them, be they never so secretly hidden. In the Province of Moravia, incorporated to Bohemia, I have formerly said that the Gentlemen have like priviledges, and absolute power over their subjects, being all born slaves. And in Germany that the Marquis of Anspach hath like born slaves. And I shal in due place shew, that in Denmark and Poland, the people are meere slaves, so as the Gentlemen and Lords reckon not their estates by yearly rents, but by the number of their Bawren (or clownes) who are all slaves. In Bohemia the goods of condemned persons fall to the Lord of the fee. Among the Barons, the Baron of Rosenburg was cheefe, who for life was chosen Viceroy, and dwelt upon the confines of Austria, being said to have the yearly rents of eighty thousand Dollers; but in respect he had no Sonne to succede him, he was lesse esteemed, especially himselfe being decrepitate, and his brother also old and without probable hope of issue. The second family of the Barons, was that of the Popels, having many branches, and plenty of heires. One of them was at that time in great grace with the Emperor Rodulphus; And the whole family for the issue was much esteemed of the people and States of the Kingdome. In Bohemia (as in Poland) Gentlemen cannot be judged, but at sower meetings in the yeare, and then are tried by Gentlemen; so as the accusers being wearied with delaies, the offenders are commonly freed, but men of inferior condition, are daily judged and suddenly tried. The Bohemians give greater titles to Gentlemen by writing and in saluting, then the Germans, where notwithstanding (as appears in the due place) there is great and undecent flattery by words among all degrees. I did not observe or reade that the Bohemians, have any military or civill order or degree of Knightes, as the English have. The Hussites having changed nothing in religion, save onely

## OF DEGREES IN BOHEMIA

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the communicating of the Lords Supper in both kinds, with some other small matters, yet I did not heare that they have any Bishops, and I am sure that the Bishopricke of Prage had then been long void. They and all of the reformed Religion in Bohemia, send their Ministers to Wittenberg an University in Saxony for receiving of Orders with imposition of hands, from the Lutheran Superintendant and the Ministers of that place.

### Chap. IIII.

Of the particular Common-wealths, as well of the Princes of Germany, as of the Free Cities, such of both, as have absolute power of life and death.



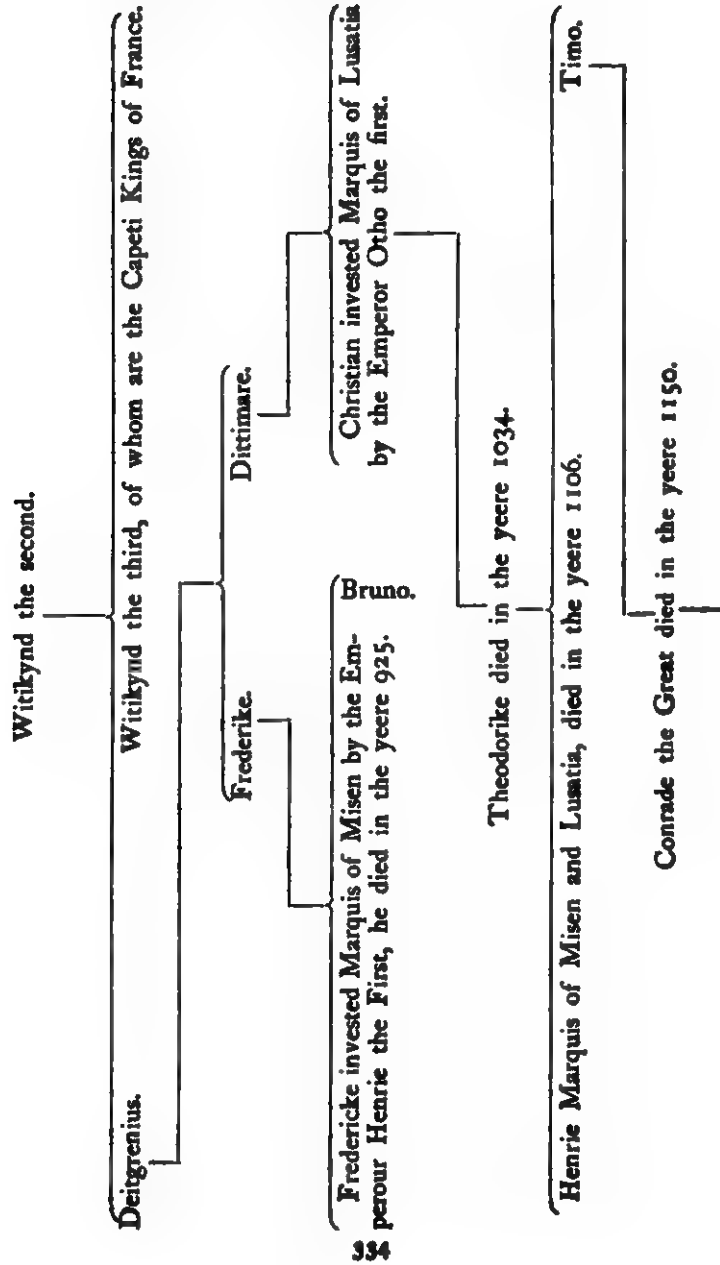
T remaineth to adde something of privat Princes Courts, and the Governement of the free Cities. And since I have formerly said, that these Princes and Cities, having absolute power of life and death, are many in number, and that according to the number of the Princes, the places also where taxes and impositions are exacted, are no lesse frequent, as well for subjects as strangers passing by, both for persons and for wares. And that they who deceive the Prince in any such kind, never escape unpunished. Now to avoid tediousnesse, I will onely mention the chiefe Princes and Cities, by which, conjecture may be made of the rest; and this I will doe briefly, without any repetition of things formerly set downe. Touching the Electors, I have formerly related the principall lawes of the golden Bulla. The Duke of Saxony is one of these Electors, many waies powerfull, and he derives his pedegree from Witikind, a famous Duke of the Germans, in the time of the Emperour Charles the Great, who forced him to lay aside the name of King, permitting him the title of a Duke, and to become Christian in the yeere 805.

*The Princes of  
the Empire  
and free  
Cities.*

*The Duke of  
Saxony  
Elector.*

A.D.  
1605-17.

# FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY



## OF THE PRINCES OF THE EMPIRE

A.D.  
1605-17.

Otho the Rich built Friburg, where hee had found Mines of Silver, and died in the yeere 1189.

Theodorike was poisoned by the Citizens of Leipzig, in the yeere 1220.

Henrie by right of inheritance became Langrave of Thuring, and died 1287.

In right line from Henrie, discends Fredericke, who chosen Emperour, yeelded the Empire to his Competitor the Emperour Charles the fourth, taking mony for giving up his right, and he died in the yeere 1349.

In right line is Fredericke the Warlike, who overcame the Bohemians rebelling against the Emperour, received the Scholers of Prague to study at Leipzig, restrained the title of Dukes of Saxony to Families, which after the Emperours of Saxonie had been confusedly usurped, and lastly appropriated the title of Elector to his Family. He died in the yeere 1423.

This is the seventeenth  
Duke of Saxonie, and the  
first Elector of Saxonie in  
his Family.

Fredericke the Gentle died in the yeere 1464

Ernestus the Elector died in the yeere 1486.

The Elector

Albert the Stout, Duke of Saxonie, died in the yeere 1500.

George of Leipzig,



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

George of Leipzig, called the Popish, was Duke of Saxonie, and died in the yeare 1539.

The first Elector of this branch.

Henrie, Duke of Saxonie, made Governour of Friesland by his father, was there in danger to be put to death, had not his father come to deliver him; he died in the yeere 1541.

Mauritius made Elector by the Emperor Charles the 5, was borne 1521, died 1553.

Augustus Elector married Anne daughter to the K.— of Denmarke, and died 1586.

The last Elector of this branch.

The Elector Frederike the Wise, who put the Empire from himself, & chose Charles the fifth. Hee did found the Universitie at Wittenberg, and died 1525.

John Elector exhibited the reformed Confession at Augsburg, and died 1533.

John Frederike for the Reformed Religion deposed from the Electorship by the Emperour Charles the fifth. He married Sibill, daughter to the Duke of Juliar, and died 1554.

# THE PRINCES OF THE EMPIRE

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1605-17.

at Boyes, and  
Girles died.

Christian the  
married the  
er to the  
of Brande-  
died 1591.

abeth married  
Casimire Ad-  
tor to the  
ship of the  
ate.

Three young daughters.

Christian the second Elec-  
tor, but then a Pupill borne  
1583, the five and twentieth  
of September, at three of the  
clocke in the morning.

John George, borne 1585,  
the fifth of March, at ten of  
the clock in the night.

Augustus borne the seventh  
of September, 1589.

These three were Pupils under William  
Frederike D. of Wyneberg, whereof the  
elder was to be Elector, the other two  
Dukes of Saxony.

othy, married  
Duke of  
wick; and  
to John  
re Duke of  
g.

John Casimire borne of his  
fathers second wife Elizabeth,  
daughter of Frederike Elector  
Palatine. He was borne 1564,  
and married Anna, daughter to  
Augustus Elector of Saxonie.

John Ernest, then un-  
married, borne in the yeere  
1566.

These Dukes of Saxony  
then living, were called  
the Dukes of Coburg.

Frederike  
bed by the  
; and prose-  
by Augustus  
of Saxonie  
Emperours  
was taken  
r by him at  
ng and razing  
ha.

Will. Frederik borne of  
another daughter to Frederike  
Elector Palatine 1562, he  
buried the daughter to the  
Duke of Wirtenberg, and  
married the daughter of Philip  
Lodowick Prince Palatine  
1591. He was Tutor to the  
sonnes of Christian Elector,  
preferred to the Duke of Co-  
burg, because his father was  
proscribed, and never restored.

This Duke of Saxonie was  
called the D. of Wyneberg.

n William  
the King of  
in those  
warres, and  
73.

John borne 1570 then un-  
married.

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1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

The Princes borne of these three Families, are Dukes of upper Saxony (for there bee also poore Dukes of lower Saxonie, as one residing at Angria). While I lived at Leipzig, Christian the Elector of Saxonie died 1591, whose Uncle by the Fathers side Mauritius, was the first Elector of that Family. For the Emperour Charles the fifth making warre against John Frederike then Duke and Elector of Saxonie, and against the Langrave of Hessen, as Rebels to the Empire; but indeede with purpose to suppress these chiefe defenders of the Reformed Religion, and to bring the free Empire of Germany under the Spanish yoke, he cunningly warned Mauritius, as next heire, to sease the lands of John Frederike, or otherwise they should fall to him that tooke possession of them. Whereupon Mauritius, though he professed the Reformed Religion, which now had great need of his helpe, yet invaded his kinsmans lands, under a faire pretext, that he tooke them, least the Emperour should alienate them to strangers, professing that he would restore them to his kinseman, when he should be reconciled to the Emperour. [III.iv.228.] But such is the power of ambition, as in the end he did nothing lesse, but further received the title of Elector, taken from John Frederike and his children, and conferred upon him and his heires males, by the Emperour. The report was, that Luther seeing Mauritius brought up in the Court of the Elector John Frederike, foretold the Elector that he should one day confesse, hee had nourished a Serpent in his bosome. True it is, that Mauritius shortly after restored the cause of Religion, in like sort deceiving the Emperours hope, by making a league with the King of France. But ever since, the posteritie of Mauritius hath been jealous of the heires to John Frederike, and hath gladly taken all occasions to suppress them. Whereupon Augustus succeeding his brother Mauritius, was easily induced, by vertue of his Office, as Arch Marshall of the Empire, to prosecute with fire and sword John Frederike, the eldest sonne of the said John Frederike, whom the Empire had proscribed. At which

## OF THE PRINCES OF THE EMPIRE

A.D.  
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time he besieged him in Gotha, a strong Fort, which he tooke and razed to the ground, coining Dollers in memory of that Victory, with this inscription; Gotha taken, and the proscribed enemies of the Empire therein besieged, either taken or put to flight, in the yeere 1567, Augustus Elector of Saxony coined these.

And it is not unlikely, that Christian, sonne to Augustus, especially for feare of this Family, fortified Dresden with so great cost and art, howsoever the common people thought it rather done, because he affected to be chosen Emperour at the next vacation. Of this Family thus prosecuted and deposed from the Electorship, are the two Dukes of Saxony, the one of Coburg, the other of Wineberg, so called of the Cities wherin they dwell. And the Duke of Coburg having been proscribed by the Empire, and never restored, the Duke of Wineberg, though more removed Kinsman, yet was made Administrator of the Electorship, with title of Elector, as Tutor to the sonne of Christian & his two brethren, who were brought up by him in the Court at Dresden, under their mother the Widow to Christian, being of the house of Brandenburg. So as, were not the Germans nature honest and peaceable, had not the power of the Elector of Brandenburg stood for the Pupils, it was then thought, that the wronged Family had great meanes of revenge. This example makes me thinke, that it is farre more safe to make the next Kinsman on the mothers side Tutor, who can have no profit, but rather losse by the death of the Pupill, then the next Kinsman by the Fathers side, being his heire.

The Dukes of Coburg and of Wineberg, are Dukes of Saxony by right of blood, and of possessions therein: but the Family of the Elector hath nothing either in upper or lower Saxony, but onely Wittenberg, belonging to the Electorship, which was conferred upon them by the Emperour Charles the fifth. The Elector holds his Court at Dresden, in the Province of Misen. Touching Christian the Elector, hee was reputed to be much given



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

to hunting, to be prone to anger, not to be solicited by petition, but at some fit times; to affect solitarinesse, and little to be seene of the people, hardly to admit strangers to his presence at any time, much lesse when he sat at the table to eate, (contrary to the use of the Princes of the house of Austria), to have skill in the Art of Gold-Smithes, and to spare no charge in keeping brave Horses. And no doubt hee was so carried away with this last delight, as he would take in gift from his very enemies, any beautifull thing belonging to the Stable. And while I was at Wittenberg, a Scholer having spoken some words, that he loved Horses better then Scholers, was sent to Dresden, and there whipped about the streetes. Beyond measure he was given to large drinking, (in plaine termes to drunkennesse), and that of the most strong Wines, so as this intemperance was thought the cause of his untimely death. And for these drinking games, he had certaine faire chambers over his Stable, something distant from his lodgings of his Court, which were appropriated to festivall solaces. As soone as he was made Elector, he presently ordained the new Judges for the Saxon Law, vulgarly called Schoppenstuel, and the Consistories. In the yeere 1586 hee had a meeting at Lubeck, with the King of Denmarke, and the Elector of Brandeburg. In the yeere 1589, at Naumberg he renewed the hereditarie league, betweene his Familie, and the neighbour Princes, namely, the Elector of Brandeburg, his eldest sonne Joachim Frederike, then called the Administrator of Hall, the three brothers a William, Lodwike, and George, Langraves of Hessen, Frederike William Duke of Saxony, (for one man hath often times two names in Baptisme), John Duke of Saxony, (for the title is common to younger brothers and houses of one Family with the elder), John Casimire (Tutor to his Nephew the Elector Palatine), John Ernest Duke of Saxony, Christian Prince of Anhalt, Wolfgang and Phillip Dukes of Grubenhagen. And to knit his friends love more firmly to him, I have said that he did institute an Order of Knighthood, called the Golden

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Fellowship. He had for his Counsell, his Officers of Court, and some Doctors of the Civill Law, and among them, Crellius Doctor of the Civill Law, and the Master of his Game or hunting (whose name I have forgotten), were in speciall grace with him; for the Princes of Germany admit no Phisitions nor Divines to their Counsell, as having care of the body and soule, not of the worldly estate. Neither doth any young Princes keep their Fathers Counsellors, but such as served them in their Fathers life time. Mysen, Voitland, and part of Thuring, Provinces subject to the Elector, have firtill fieldes, frequent Cities, many Castles proper to the Elector, innumerable Villages, and neare Friburg rich Mines of Silver, (as I have shewed in the first volume or part, where I treat of my journey through these parts). But howsoever these Provinces excell in these things; yet because they are of no great circuit, the Elector is not so powerfull in the number of vassals, as in yeerely revenewes. So as at a publike meeting, he had no more then some two thousand vassalls, when the Elector of Brandenburg had eight thousand, who notwithstanding is farre inferiour to him in treasure and warlike power. He then fortified the City of Dresden, as a Fort, and so strongly, as it was thought impregnable by force, and all the Citizens were bound to have Corne and all necessaries for the food of their families, for sixe moneths alwaies laid up in store. And in time of that secure peace, yet the walles were furnished with Artillery, as if an Army had line before the Citie. And in times of Divine service, the streetes were chained, and guards of souldiers were set in the Market place, and other parts of the City, so as nothing could bee added in time of the greatest warre. The Elector had in the Citie three hundreth Garrison souldiers, whereof those that were Citizens had three Guldens, and the old souldiers sixe Guldens by the moneth. The Captaine had the pay for eight and the Lieutenant for two horses, each horse at twelve Guldens by the moneth. The Ensigne had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, foure Corporals or

*The Duker  
State.*

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Campe-Masters had each ten Guldens, the Scout-Master ten Guldens, and the quarter-Master eight Guldens. He gave honourable stipends to foure great Captaines, who lived at home, but were bound to serve him when he should cal them. His Court was no lesse magnificall, wherein he had three Dukes for his Pensioners, namely Christian Prince of Anhalt, John D. of Winbrooke (both yonger brothers), and the Duke of Desh, whose Duke-dome lies upon the confines of Hungary. And to each of these he gave the pay of twenty Horse, each Horse at twelve Guldens the moneth. He had also in his Court three Earles, Bastian Stick a Bohemian, Phillip Count of Hollock, and one of the Counts of Mansfield, and to each of them hee gave the like pay for twelve Horses. He had also in his Court five Barrons, namely, two Cousens Barrons of Zantzke in Bohemia, the Barron of Ausse, the Barron of Shinck, and the Barron of Done, and to the fower first he gave like pay for ten, and to the last for twelve Horses. He had in his Court twenty young Gentlemen, who carried his Launce and Helmet, vulgarly called Spissyongen (Youths of the Speare), to whom he gave yeerely coates of Velvet, and all necessaries, and to each of them he gave a chaine of gold to weare. Hee had twelve Gentlemen of his chamber, and to each of them he gave a chaine of gold, his diet in Court, and like pay for ten horses. He had sixteene youths of his Chamber, and to sixe of the eldest (yet not bearing Armes) he gave each like pay for two Horses, and the other ten he maintained with all necessaries. He had fiftie Pensioners to waite at his table, vulgarly called Druckses, and these did ride before him, and to each of them he gave his diet in the Court, and like pay for three horses. He had twelve Sexhsruss, and to each of them he gave like pay for sixe horses. He had fifty Audlepursen, so called of a short piece they carried (in English we call them Calbiners), and to each of them he gave the pay of one Horse, apparrell twice in the yeere, and two hundred Guldens yeerely stipend. These (as all other degrees) had

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their Captaines and Liefetenants, and each third night by turnes, they did watch at the doore of the Electors Chamber, having no diet in Court, but onely the night of their watch, both living otherwise, and lying in the City. He had fifty Einspauners with a Captaine and Liefetenant, who did ride as Scouts farre before the Elector, and looked to the safety of the wayes, each of which had pay for one Horse. He had sixteene Trumpeters, whereof three did ride alwaies with the Elector, and two Drummes beating a Drumme of brasse, vulgarly called, Kettell Drummern, and each riding, had sixteene Guldens by the moneth, out of which they kept each Man his Horse, and each staying at home, had ten Guldens monethly stipend, and all of them at solemne Feasts were apparrelled by the Elector. Hee had of his Guard one hundred, (vulgarly called Trabantoës), whereof the Gentlemen had eight, the rest sixe guldens monethly; and the Gentlemen kept watch at the doore of the Electors Chamber, carrying Holbeards, and the rest kept watch at the gates of the Court, armed with Muskets, and yeerely they were apparrelled. He had three Chaplaines, whereof one was alwaies to be at the side of the Elector. He had sixteene Singingmen, whereof ten being Men, had each of them 400 Dollers stipend, & six being boyes, had some 100 dollers for maintenance. He had 18 Musicians of divers Nations, whereof each had some 140 dollers yeerely stipend. He had two Tumblers or Vaulters, one an English man, the other an Italian, with the like, or somewhat greater stipend. He had eight French and two Dutch Lacqueis, to runne by his stirrop, or the side of his Coach, whereof each had some 100 Dollers stipend, & apparrell, besides extraordinary gifts.

The Dukes Stable may not be omitted, being more magnificall, then any I did ever see in the World, (whereof I have at large spoken in the first Part, writing of my journey through Dresden): for therein I did see one hundred thirty sixe forraigne Horses of the bravest races, (besides two hundred Horses kept in other Stables for

*The Dukes  
Stable.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

drawing of Coaches and like uses); and in this cheefe Stable a boy and a man were kept to attend each horse, the men having for diet thirty grosh weekly, the boyes twenty foure grosh, (that is, a Doller), and the men for yeerely wages had also sixteen dollers, besides apparrell twice in the yeere, and boots both to Men and Boyes. It cannot bee expressed, at least this is not the fit place to write, how sumptuously and curiously all things were prepared for the Horses and their Keepers. A Gentleman of speciall account was overseer of this Stable, and had a great stipend for his care thereof. He had eight Leibknechten, (that is, Servants for the body), who did leade the Horses for the Electors saddle, whereof each had the monethly pay for two Horses, and three hundred Guldens yeerely stipend. He had foure Riders, whereof each had two hundred Dollers yeerely stipend, and apparrell. One chiefe and two inferiour Horse-leeches and Smiths, foure Armourers (to pollish the Armes for Tilt-ing), three Sadlers, two Cutlers (to pollish the Swords), two Feathermakers, and two Porters of the Stable, had each of them one hundred Guldens yeerely stipend, and apparell twice in the yeere.

*The Dukes  
Armoury.*

Besides, the Elector Christian had a Kingly Armoury, or Arsonall for Artillery and Munitions of warre, which they said had furniture for an Army of eighty thousand Men, overseene by a Captaine or Master of the Ordinance, his Liefetenant, and three Captaines of the watch, who had no small stipends; besides fifty Gunners, who had each of them sixe guldens by the moneth, with yeerely apparrell: But when I was at Dresden, this Armory was much unfurnished by aides newly sent into France to King Henry the fourth, at the instance of his Ambassadour the Earle of Turine. These aides, though sent with the consent of the foresaid Princes confederate, yet were levied as at the charge of the King of France, and as voluntary men, because the Princes are bound upon paine to leese their fees, and by the covenants of the peace given to the confession of Augsborg, not to undertake any warre

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without the Emperours knowledge, which bonds are often broken, the Princes of Germany administring all as absolute Princes, onely with consent of their confederates: But I passe over this, and returne to the matter in hand.

The foresaid so many and so great stipends, were most readily paid without delay out of the Exchequer, called the Silver Chamber, monethly or yeerely, as they did grow due. And all the Pensioners aforesaid, did keepe the horses in the city, for which they had pay, to which if you adde the 136 horses of the chiefe stable, and the 200 kept by the D. in other stables, you shal find, that Dresden was never without a 1000 horses of service, for any sudden event. And the number was not lesse of the horses which the Elector kept in his Castles not farre from the Citie; so as he had ever (as it were in a moment) ready 2000 horses for all occasions. This Christian Elector of Saxony, was said to impose most heavy exactions upon his subjects (no lesse then the Italian Princes, who place all their confidence in their treasure, none at al in the love of their subjects, or then the Netherlanders, who for feare to become slaves to the Spaniard, beare untollerable exactions.) The Country people about Dresden cried, that they were no lesse oppressed then the Jewes in Egypt, being daily forced to labour at their owne charge in fortifying the City. And many complained, that the Red Deare, wilde Boares, and like beasts destroied their fields (for I said that the Duke was much delighted in hunting, which is also forbidden to all, even the best Gentlemen) no man daring so much as to drive the beasts out of their pasture and corne, he that sets a Dog on them, being subject to great penalty, and he that killes one of them, being guilty of death. But nothing did more cause the Duke to be malignd, then that he had left the positions of Luther in religion, and carefully endeavoured to establish those of Calvin, as shal be shewed in due place. His subjects were wont to pay for severall goods, as a sheepe, a cow, and the like, a yeerely tribute; but of late

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The Brewers  
Tribute.*

it had been decreed by the 3 States, that after the value of goods, each man for 60 grosh should pay two fennings yeerely, I meane as well moveable goods (namely, wares and ready money), as houses lands, and all unmoveable goods, and that not according to the yeerely value, but yeerely according to the value at which they were (or might be) bought or sold. Neither could any man dissemble his wealth, since that deceit will appeare at least upon the last Will and Testament, and once found useth to be punished with repairing the losse, and a great fine. This tribut was at first granted only for 6 yeres, but those ended, the terme was renewed, and so it continueth for ever. And this tribute alone was said to yeeld yeerely 600000 guldens: but the chiefe revenue of the Elector was by the imposition upon Beare, which (as I have formerly said) that people drinckes in great excesse. And they said, that this tribute also at first was imposed only for certaine yeeres. But the Elector meaning nothing lesse then to ease them of this burthen, of late there had bin a paper set by some merry lad upon the Court gates, containing these words in the Dutch tongue: Ich wunsch ihm lang leben; und kein gutten tag darneben: und darnoch den hellisch fewr: der hatt auffgehebt dab beer stewart: Undergeschreiben. Das wort Gottes und das beerestewart, wheren in ewigkeit. That is:

I wish long life may him befall,  
And not one good day therewithall:  
And Hell-fier after his life here,  
Who first did raise this Taxe of Beare.

Post-script. The Word of God, and the Tax of Beare last for ever and ever.

The Brewers pay tribute according to the value of the brewing, not according to the gaine they make, namely, some eighth part for one kind of Beare, some fifth part for another kind in most places. At Wittenberg I observed, that for one brewing of some 48 bushels of Mault, worth some 48 guldens, the Dukes Treasurer

## OF THE TRIBUTE OF THE EMPIRE

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received 8 guldens. This Treasurer doth foure times yeerely view the brewing vessels, and number the Students of Wittenberg, to prevent any defrauding of Tribute. For howsoever in all these parts they drinke largely, yet at Wittenberg, in respect of the great number of Students, and at Leipzig, for the same cause, and in respect of a great Faire, this tribute growes to an higher rate, then in other cities; yet the Citie Torge, though lesse in circuit then these, only exceeds these and all other, in yeelding this tribute, because the beare therof is so famously good, as it is in great quantitie transported to other Cities of these Provinces, where the better sort most commonly drink it and no other; so as that Citie alone yeelds one yeere with another seventeene thousand gold Guldens for tribute of Beare. The same Citie makes yeerely seven thousand wollen clothes, each cloth thirty two elles long, and worth some fourteene Dollers; yet for each cloth they pay onely one silver Grosh, whereby it appeares, that the tribute of cloth and like commodities, is lightly esteemed, as of lesse importance, then the transcendent traffique of Beare. Torge likewise yeerely paies to the Elector 500 Dollers for the fishing of a Lake neare the City, which once in 3 yeeres was said to yeeld 5000 Dollars to the City: One sole Province, yet much inhabited, and very fertill, namely Misen, was said one yeere with another to yeeld 1800000 Dollers for all tributes, and halfe part thereof onely for Beare. The Mines of Silver are of great importance, which by the Law belong to the Electors in their Provinces, not to the Emperour. And this Elector hath many of these Mines—namely, those of Friburg, those of Scheneberg, those of Anneberg, and those of the valey of Joachim, of al which I have written at large in the Geographical description. And no doubt this Elector is potent in treasure, so as howsoever he be inferiour in dignity to the Elector Palatine, yet he is most powerfull of all the Electors.

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Among the walled Cities subject to him (not to speake of the Townes, Castles, and pleasant Villages), Leipzig



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is next to Dresden, to which it onely yeelds for the fortifications, and the Electors Court. Leipzig gives the Law to the upper Territorie, as Wittenburg doth to the lower, and both are adorned by being Universities: but at Leipzig the Scabines sit, Judges of great Authoritie for the Law of Saxony, being in number seven, namely, three Senators of the City, and foure Doctors of the Civill Law. But Wittenberg hath not the right of the Sword to execute malefactors, which the Elector Augustus (they say) translated to Leipzig, because the Judges obstinately denied him power to pardon malefactors, or to moderate the Law. So as when any man is capitally accused at Wittenberg, the cause is first referred to the Scabines at Leipzig, who finding him guilty, give power to the Senators of Wittenberg, to pronounce sentence, and doe execution. Wittenberg is no faire City, but a famous Universitie, and at this time had a great many of Students, and it is not subject to the Duke as inheritance from his progenitors, but as he is Elector, for to the Electorship it properly belongeth. Besides the great tributes it paies for Beare, it also yeelds yeerely to the Duke 1500 gold Guldens, for the Bridge built over the Elve. Here, as in all other places, Lime and Brick are sold in the Dukes name, and to his use. As well Leipzig as Wittenberg, in difficult cases, aske counsell for the Civill Law, of their owne and (if need be) of forraigne Universities, where the Doctors of the Civill Law, in the name of the Faculty, write downe their judgement in the case propounded. These Doctors are also Advocates, whereof there were twenty two at this time at Leipzig, and because this profession is much esteemed, the Germans willingly apply themselves to the study thereof.

*The Count  
Palatine of the  
Rheine,  
Elector, and  
the Duke of  
Bavaria.*

The Count Palatine of the Rheine, by old institution is cheefe among the temporall Electors, and is of the same Family, of which the Dukes of Bavaria descend. The Pedegree of them both, is derived from the Emperour Charles the Great. Otho the elder brother Palatine of Wirtelbach, upon the proscription of the Duke of Bavaria, had that Dukedome conferred on him in fee by the

## OF THE COUNT PALATINE

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Emperour in the yeere 1180. From his younger brother descend the Counts of Salmes now living. But from the said Otho the elder brother, are descended, both the Palatines Electors, and the Dukes of Bavaria now living.

Lodwicke Duke of Bavaria, who died in the yeere 1231, received the Palatinate of the Rheine in fee from the Emperour Fredericke the second. Otho the fourth, succeeded him in the Dukedome of Bavaria, and the Palatinate of the Rheine, and was the first Elector of this Family, who died in the yeere 1253. His sonne Lodwicke the severe, Elector Pallatine and Duke of Bavaria, made Rodolphus of Habsburg Emperour, who was the first Emperour of the House of Austria. He married this Emperours Daughter, & died in the yeere 1294, leaving two sonnes, who divided the inheritance, as followeth.

[Rodolphus

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From this  
Lodwick  
discend the  
Dukes of  
Bavaria.

Lodwick the yonger  
Brother was D. of Ba-  
varia, and was made  
Emperor, who died 1347.

Rodolphus the elder Brother  
was Count Palatine of the  
Rheine, & Elector, who died  
1319,

From this  
Rodolphus,  
discend the  
Counts Pala-  
tines and El-  
ectors.

Rupert Palatine of the Rheine Elector, founded the Universitie in Heidelberg, in the yeere 1346.

Rupert Elector and Emperour, died in the yeere 1410.

Lodwick Count Palatine and Elector.

The Elector Frederike the second, discend-  
ing from him, freed Vienna from the siege  
of the Turkes, and died 1556.

Otho Henrich his Nephew died 1559  
without heires males, and so the Electorship  
fell to the Duke of Zweybruck.

Stephen Duke of Zweybruck.

Frederike Palatine. Lodwick the blacke.

John the first. Alexander.

John the second. Lodwick. Rupert.

# OF THE COUNT PALATINE

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<p>Of Rupert is George, borne of the Daughter to Gustavus King of Swetia, who then was living.</p>	<p>He had 3 sonnes and divers daughters.</p>	<p>A fifth branch of the second house of the Countes of Palatines.</p>
<p>Wolfgang D. of Swey-bruck married the Daughter to the Langrave of Hessen, and died in the French warres 1569.</p>	<p>Phillip Lodwick married the daughter to the Duke of Juliec. John married to another Daughter of the Duke of Juliec. Frederike married the Daughter of the Duke of Lignic. Otho Henrich married the Daughter to the Duke of Wir-terberg. Eight Sisters, partly dead, partly living then.</p>	
<p>Frederike the third succeeded Otho Henrich in the Electorship, and died 1576.</p>	<p>Lodwick the fourth Elector Palatine married the daughter of the Langrave of Hessen, and died 1583. John Casimire was Tutor to his Nephew, and Elector in his nonage, and married Elizabeth sister to Christian Duke of Saxony, and died 1592. Elizabeth married to John Frederike Duke of Saxony, called of Coburg. Susan Dorothy married to John William, Duke of Saxonie, called of Wineberg. Anna Maria married to Phillip the 2, Langrave of Hessen. Kuni-gunde Jacobe married to the Count of Nassawe.</p>	<p>He   Two   Two   Wolfgang He   Two   Frederike Dorothea   Frederike</p>
<p>Richard D. of Hunneseruck living when I wrote this.</p>	<p>The 2 branch of the first house.</p>	



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Of three Daughters, one married to Frederike William Duke of Saxony.

Wolfgang borne 1578.

Augustus borne 1582.

John Frederike borne 1587.

Two Sonnes and two Daughters.

Two Twins borne 1591.

He had both sons and Daughters.

Frederike the fourth Elector then Pupill to John Casimire his Uncle.

Christian his sole Sister.

Dorothea his sole Daughter.

The second House of the Countes Palatines in foure branches then living, the last branches being multiplied from Phillip Lodwick being then children.

Thus of Rodulphus the eldest sonne to Lodwick the Severe, descend two houses in many branches of the Countes Palatines, whereof the chiefe and first hath the Electorship. And of Lodwick the Emperour the second sonne to Lodwick the Severe descend the Dukes of Bavaria, as followeth.

The Dukes of Bavaria. Lodwick the Emperour had two sonnes.

Stephen Duke of Bavaria, who died 1392.

William Count of Holland by right of his wife. Of him descended the Counts of Holland.

Frederike Duke of Bavaria died 1404.

John of Monach Duke of Bavaria died 1397.

George the rich founded the Universitie of Ingolstat, and built the Colledge of Saint George, and died 1503.

Albert the third refused to be chosen King of Bohemia, and died 1460.

# OF THE COUNT PALATINE

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Albert the fourth brought the Channons of 2 Monasteries to Monach, and that of his owne authoritie, for which he hardly escaped the proscription of the Empire; and to him the Emperour adjudged the inheritance of George against the Palatine, who had married the daughter of George, and was by his last Will made his heire. He died 1508.

Elizabeth his Daughter was married to Rupert Count Palatine, and to Rupert George by his last Will gave the Dukedome of Bavaria, but the Emperour Maximilian would not confirme this gift, as injurious to the next heire in this pedigree, whence rose the warre of Bavaria.

Albert the 5, built 3 Colledges for the Jesuites. Hemarried Anna, daughter to the Emperour Ferdinand, and died in the yeere 1579.

William made warre against the Duke of Wirteberg, and died in the yeere 1577.

Sibill married to Lodwick the fourth, Elector Palatine, died in the yeere 1511.

Sabina married to Ulrich Duke of Wirteberg, died in the yeere 1564.

Sidonia married to Philibert Marquis of Baden.

William borne 1548, married Rinata, Daughter to Francis Duke of Lorraine in the yeere 1568.

Ferdinand borne in the yeere 1550.

Ernestus Bishop of Liege, after Archbishop and Elector of Colon, borne in the yere 1554.

Maria Maximilian borne 1552.

Maria borne 1553, and married to Charles Arch-Duke of Austria, 1572.

Maximilian D. of Bavaria.

Phillip Bishop of Ratibona.

Ferdinand a Præpositus of Colon, and Channon of Trier.

One Sister, Maximiliana.

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

It was covenanted, and stands agreed betweene the House of the Electors Pallatines, and the house of the Dukes of Bavaria, that upon want of heires males, one of them should succcede the other; and when the Daughter to the Duke of Bavaria, in the time of the Emperour Maximilian, opposed her selfe to this contract, she was forced to yeeld to it by the Emperour.

*The Elector  
Palatine of  
the Rheine.*

I returne to the Electors Palatines. The foresaid Frederick the fourth, Pallatine and Elector, being under age, had Duke John Casimire his fathers brother for his Tutor, who at his brothers death besieged the Citie of Colen, in the name of the Bishop, whom they had driven out for being married. This Casimire, in his brothers life-time had a noble inheritance beyond the Rheine, to him and his heires, and then hearing of his brothers death, hasted to Heidleberg, where he brought the people to obedience, who would not have him Administrator, because he professed the Reformed Religion after Calvins doctrine, not after that of Luther. And he presently sent backe the Emperours Ambassadors, who were come thither about that controversie, refusing to yeeld his right in the Tutorage of his Nephew, which he defended in the Imperiall Chamber at Spire. After he brought up his Nephew wisely and religiously, appointing him his diet apart with his Teachers and the Steward of his Court, to whose table one Professour of the University was daily invited, who had charge to propound a question to the Prince, out of the Histories, and controversies of Religion. And the Prince did not presently make answer, except it were in a common subject, but asked time to consider of it, and consulting apart with his Teachers, after some halfe houer returned to give his answer. Thus by daily practise the chiefe accidents of Histories, and controversies of Religion were made familiar to him. The Citie Heidelberg, somtimes held in Fee from the Bishop of Wormz, was in time beautified with buildings and an University, and became the seat of the Electors. The said Elector Frederike the fourth

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being a pupill, was after the foresaid manner brought up in the Reformed religion, according to the doctrine of Calvine: but in the meane time Richard the Duke of Hunnesruck his next heire, if hee should die without issue male, did obstinately follow the reformed doctrine of Luther, and so did the rest of his kinsmen, the Dukes of Rweybruck (their towne being so called of the two Bridges) excepting the second brother of them, who consented in Religion with the Elector. This Elector Frederick the fourth, married the daughter to the Prince of Orange, by his wife of the French family de Chastillion. His Court was not great, nor any way comparable to that of the Elector of Saxony. For he had scarce thirtie Gentlemen to attend him, and to them he gave no more then some twenty five Guldens for stipend, which they spent upon their servants that attended them and kept their horses. And he had no more then eight Yeomen for the Guard of his body. Wine was sparingly drawne, and all expences made with great frugalitie. But the fame of this Electors wisdom and affabilitie, made him much esteemed of strangers, and while he conversed with his Citizens often comming to the publike place for exercise of the Peece and Crosse-bow, and being easie of accesse, yet carried himselfe like a grave and noble Prince, hee became deare to his subjects. Of whom hee exacted moderate tribute for their lands, houses, money, and goods, and some two small fennings for each Mosse or measure of wine. In five places upon the Rheine he exacted impositions or taxes, which one yeere with another yeelded some twelve or sixteene thousand French Crownes, and they said, that hee received yeerely some fifty or sixty thousand Crownes by the silver Mines of Anneberg, besides extraordinarie subsidies, which his subjects use to grant him upon occasion of war, or like necessities of the Commonwealth. And I remember, when the Citizens of Strasburg his neighbours made warre with the brother of the Duke of Lorraine, about their Bishopricke, so as the Palatine was forced to levy souldiers

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# FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

for defence of his people from the rapine of both Armies, that he imposed an extraordinary subsidie upon his subjects, of a quarter of a Doller for each hundred Dollers any man possessed, in moveable or unmoveable goods.

The Margrave (or Marquis) of Brandeburg is by the first institution the last of the Electors, but more powerfull then any of them in the number of Vassals; and his territories are much larger then those of the Elector of Saxony, but his revenewes are nothing so great. He held his Court at Berlin, some twelve German miles distant from Wittenberg in Saxony. His pedigree is derived from Peter Columna (a Roman Patritian, of the ancient blood of the Camilli), who banished by Pope Gregorie the seventh, had lands given him in Suevia by the Emperour Henrie the fourth, and built the castle of Zagaroll, and about the yeece 1120 had a sonne called Burchard.

Burchard Count of Zoller (his Castle so called.)

Frederick, the first race of the Burgraves of Nurnberg being extinct, was invested 1273 of that dignity by the Emperour Rodolphus, whose sister was mother to Frederick. Eitel Frederick Count of Zoller.

Frederick the second Burgrave of Nurnberg, died in the yeece 1330.

Conrade dividing the Principallitie with his brother, governed at Nurnberg, and foure of his posterity were great Commanders of the Order of the Teutonike Knights.

The first Marquise  
and first Elector of  
this family.

Frederick, Burgrave of Nurnberg, had the Marquisate of Brandenburg conferred on him by the Emperor Sigismund, and also the Electorship in the yeere 1427, and hee sold the Castle and Burgraveship of Nurnberg to the City of Nurnberg. Hee died in the yeere 1440.

John, Marquis of Brandenburg, at his fathers Commandement, yeelded the Electorship to his second brother, and died in the yeere 1464.

Frederick Marquise and Elector going into Palestine, did yeeld the Electorship to his brother Albert, and died in the yeere 1470.

Albert, Marquise and Elector, called the Achilles of Germany, overcame the Citizens of Nurnberg in eight battels, and in the ninth being overcome, promised them peace. He first made league with the Elector of Saxony and the Langrave of Hessen, and died suddenly in a Bath in the yeere 1486.

By his second wife Anne, Daughter to Frederick the second Elector of Saxony, he had Frederick the fifth Marquise of Brandenburg in Franconia and Voytland. Hee married the daughter of Casimire King of Poland, and died in the yeere 1536. Hee had five sisters by his mother, three married, two Nunnes.

Casimire

By his first Wife, Daughter to the Marquise of Baden, he had John Marquise and Elector, commonly called the Cicero of Germany, he died 1499. And had two sisters by his mother.

Joachim

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Cassimire married the daughter to the D. of Bavaria, he died 1577.

George gave the Confession of Religion at Augsburg.

William Bishop of Regenspurg, died 1563.

Albert M<sup>r</sup>. of the Teutonike Order, being overcome by the King of Poland, was made D. of Prussia, the Order being extinguished, and founded the Universitie at Konigsberg, he died 1568.

Five sisters all married.

Joachim the first, Elector, founded the University at Franckfort upon Viadrus, in the yere 1506; he married Elizabeth, daughter to the King of Denmark, and died 1535.

Anna, married to the King of Denmark Frederick the first, died 1521.

Ursula married to the Duke of Pomerania; another Ursula to the Duke of Meckelburg.

Albert Archbishop and Elector of Mentz & Cardinall made the war of Religion, which Lodwick Elector Palatine appeased. He died 1545.

Albert, called the Alcibiades of Germany, most warlike, was proscribed by the Empire, and died in banishment in the yere 1557.

Marie married to Frederick Elector Palatine, died 1567.

Geo. Fred. recovered Prussia from the K. of Poland, & took it in Fee 1578. He married Elizabeth of Brandenburg 1558, and Sophia, daughter to the D. of Brunswick 1579. He had five sisters.

By the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick he had Albert Frederick borne 1553, said to be frantick, so as George Frederick his uncles son governed the Dukedome of Prussia, he was at this time living.

By Dorothy Queene of Denmark hee had Anna Sophia, married to the Duke of Meckelburg, and she died 1591. Besides males and females dying young.

Joachim the second, Elector, for killing a Turk, had a Military Girdle of Charles the fift, to whose part he was firme, and obtained life for the captive Elector of Saxony, he died 1571.

John leagued with the Protestants, yet served the Emperour at his brothers perswasion, but after joined with Mauritius Elector of Saxony against the Emperour, he died 1570.

Five sisters, Anne married to the Duke of Meckelburg. Elizabeth to the Duke of Brunswick. Margaret to the Duke of Pomern. Elizabeth to George Marquis of Brandenburg. And Catherine to &c.

# OF THE MARGRAVE OF BRANDENBURG

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By the daughter of the D. of Julec hee had some daughters. How the Teutonike Order was extinguished, and of the succession in Prussia is formerly spoken in this Chapter, and in the Geographical description of Germany.

By his first wife Sophia (as some say) daughter to the Count of Barba, hee had Joachim Frederick borne 1546, heire to the Electorship, at this time Administrator of the Archbishop<sup>t</sup>. of Halla. Hee married one of the House of Brandenburg in the yeere 1570, & (if I be not deceived) had at this time a second wife, the daughter of the Duke of Wirteberg.

John

By Magdalen, daugh. to Geo. the Bearded, D. of Saxony.

Johannes Georgius the Elector then living, borne in the yeere 1525.

Barbara married to the D. of Bregan in Silesia.

Elizabetha Magdalena married to Otho D. of Luneburg.

Hedvigis married to Julius, Duke of Brunswick.

Sophia married to the Barron of Rosenberg Viceroy in Bohemia, 1564.

By Sabina daughter to George Marquis of Brandenburg married 1547, and dying 1574. Hee had three daughters, Ermund married to John Frederick D. of Pomern. Anna Maria married to the eldest brother D. of Pomern, and Sophia married to Christian Elector of Saxony 1582.

By Elionora daughter to the Prince of Anhalt married 1577, at the fifty three yeere of his age, and fourteenth of her age, he had three sonnes, Christian, and Joachim Ernest, and a third whose name I know not; and in the yeere 1592, when he was 67 yeeres old, he had a daughter, besides two other daughters formerly begotten.



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

John Sigismund borne 1572.	Anna Catharina borne 1575.	George borne 1577.	Augustus borne 1580, Chanon of Strasburg.	Albert Frederike borne 1581.	Joachim a Twin borne 1582.	Ernest a Twin borne 1582.	Christian Will- helm, borne 1588.
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*The Spirituall  
Electors.*

Hitherto I have spoken of the Temporall Electors. The second among the Spirituall Electors is the Arch-bishop of Mentz, which Seate, when I passed through Germany, was possessed by Wolfgang of the noble Family of Dalberg, and all his Kinsmen, dwelling neare Heidelberg, were of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Luther, and therefore lesse esteemed him, who notwithstanding was thought no enemie to the Reformed Religion, but rather willing to permit it, did he not feare the opposition of the Chapter. For Gebhard Truchsesse Arch-bishop of Colen and Elector, had lately bin deposed, and another placed in that Seate, because he married Agnes Countesse of Mansfield, with whom at that time he lived, being made a Cannon at Strasburg, (for that citie having abolished the Roman Religion, yet kept the places of Cannons without any bond of superstition, and used to bestow them onely upon Princes and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion), and in this citie he then lived a quiet life, after he had in vaine tried by force of Armes to regaine that Arch-Bishoprick. The third Spirituall Elector, but first by institution, is the Arch-Bishop of Trier, a Citie seated beyond the Rheine, upon the confines of France, which Seate, when I passed through Germany, was possessed by John (if I mistake not his name) of the Noble Family of Schonburg. And whereas the other Electors dwell in the cities whereof they are named for the most part, his continuall abode was at the castle Erbrots-  
steine, seated neare the Rheine, some halfe daies journey

## OF THE SPIRITUAL ELECTORS

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from Trier. All these Arch-Bishops have not onely Spirituall but also Temporall power in all their Territories.

The Families of the Langraves of Hessen is derived from Lambert Count of Hannow, who died in the yeere 1015. Of his first branch come the Margraves of Berg, and also the Barrons of Grimberg. Of the second branch come the Langraves of Hessen, whose Progenitor Lodwick, called the Gentle, being chosen Emperour, refused that burthen, and died in the yeere 1458. Phillip united to the Protestant Princes in the league of Smalcald, and joyning his forces with the Elector of Saxony, against the Emperour Charles the fifth, was perswaded by his friends, when the Electors Army was broken, to yeeld himselfe to the Emperour, by whom he was kept prisoner for a time, contrary to promise. He founded the Universitie at Marburg, and died in the yeere 1567.

*The  
Langraves  
of Hessen.*

The said Phillip married the Daughter to the Duke of Meckelburg, and by her had the following issue.

His Sister Elizabeth was married to John Duke of Saxonie.

William borne 1532, held his court at Cassiles, having half the inheritance. He delivered his father out of prison, and married Sabina, daughter to the D. of Wirtemberg, and died not long before I passed through Germany.

Lodwick borne 1537 held his court at Marburg, & had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance. He first married Hedvige daughter to the D. of Wirtemberg, & after Mary of Mansfield, both barren. And at this time he lived, but without any child.

Agnes married to Mauritius Elector of Saxony 1541, and after to John Frederick D. of Saxonie. George borne 1547, held his court at Dornstat, and had a fourth part of his fathers inheritance, and married Magdelen, daughter to Bernard Count of Lipp, & she was dead, but he then lived.

Anna married to the Duke of Zweybruck, died 1581.

Barbara married to George Earle of Melburg.

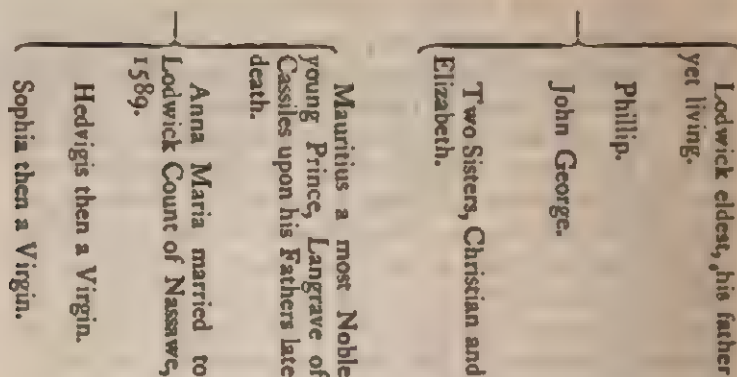
Elizabeth married to Lodwick the fourth, Elector Palatine.

Christina married to Adolphus, of the roial bloud of Denmarke.

Lodwick

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY



The foresaid William Langrave of Hessen, of his chiefe City called the Langrave of Cassiles, had in division with his brethren halfe his Fathers inheritance, the other halfe being divided betweene his two brothers. And since that time I heard, that his brother Lodwick of Marpurg was dead without issue; and that his fourth part of this inheritance was returned to Mauritius, eldest sonne to William. Yet because Mauritius was addicted to the reformed Religion, after the doctrine of Calvin, which hee and his Courtiers with many subjects professed, howsoever hee had not yet made any generall alteration, whereas his Uncle Lodwick persisted in the doctrine of Luther, I remember the common speech in the land of Hessen, that Lodwick had threatned his Nephew Mauritius to disinherit him, and give his lands to the children of his brother George of Dormstatt, if he made any generall alteration in Religion.

I have formerly said, that the dignity of the Empire decaying, many Principalities were given in Fee, and the Lords thereof became absolute Princes. At that time many great Cities were immediately subject to the Empire, whereof many were at sundrie times after ingaged for money to the said Princes. At last the power of the Empire being more fallen by many Civill warres raised by the Popes, to confirme their usurped power over the

## OF THE LANDGRAVES OF HESSE

A.D.  
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Emperours, these Cities with money bought their liberty, partly of the Emperours, partly of the said Princes, from which time these Cities being called Imperiall, and having freedome with absolute power, became daily more and more beautified with buildings, and strong by fortifications; yet some Cities still subject to divers Princes, yeeld not to them in beauty and strength, as Dresden and Leipzig subject to the Elector of Saxony; Monach and Ingolstat subject to the Duke of Bavaria; and Breslaw the chiefe Citie of Silesia, a Province joyned to the Kingdome of Bohemia.

The Emperour at his election sweares, that hee will maintaine these Cities in their freedome, and not suffer them to be drawne backe to the subjection of the Empire, or the said Princes. Also I have formerly spoken of the many and just suspitions betweene the Emperour, the Princes, and these Free Cities, which it were needlesse to repeate. Of old the great Cities of the Empire were ninety sixe in number, but many of them have since been alienated to the Princes of Netherland, or united by League to the Cantons of Sweitzerland, so at this day there remaine only sixty Free Cities of the Empire.

Of the Common-wealths of these Cities, it shall suffice in generall to have said, that the Governement is very moderate and equall. The Patritians live upon their revenues, as Gentlemen. The Plebeians intend Traffique and Shop-keeping; and bee they never so rich, never so wise, can never become Patritians, but still keepe their owne rancke, as all other Orders doe. And the Artisans so they keepe the Lawes, (which bind the highest as well as them) are secure from the injuries of any greater man. In civill causes they judge not after strict Law, but according to equity, and without delay: but more easily to conjecture of all in generall, it will not be amisse particularly to observe the governement of some few.

And because Nurnberg is one of the chiefe, I will beginne with it. The Margraves of Brandenburg were of old Burgraves of Nurnberg, till Fredericke the fourth

*The City of  
Nurnberg.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

*The  
Margrave of  
Anspach.*

about the yeere 1414, sold that his right, and the Castle of Nurnberg to the Citizens thereof. Albert his sonne, called the Achilles of Germany, for some duety denied to him, made warre upon the City, drawing seventeene Princes to take his part, as the other free Cities assisted Nurnberg. At this day the Margrave of Anspach, being of that Family, calls himselfe Burgrave of Nurnberg, but hath onely the bare title, without any command in the City: yet because his lands lie on some sides under the very wals thereof, the Citizens repute him a dangerous neighbour. The common report was, that this Margrave had lately sold to the City a great wood, growing very neere the walles thereof, and that shortly after hee was at variance with them, as if hee had sold onely the wood, and not the soyle, so as (if vulgar speech may be beleaved) they were forced againe to buy the ground: And yet he hath not renounced his right of hunting therein, which he challengeth proper to himselfe. Give me leave to digresse so much from my purpose, as to say, that the neighbourhood of this Margrave, is no lesse suspected by the free City Wasenburg, not farre distant, where upon a mountaine in his owne ground, hanging over the City, he hath built a strong Castle. And because all the streetes of that little City lie open to it, the Citizens when first he beganne to build, complained to the Emperour of that wrong, and obtained letters to command the Margrave to build no further, but he not onely disobeyed those letters, but built the same with more speed and strength. Now I returne to Nurnberg, the Common-wealth whereof is Aristocraticall. The great Counsell hath no set number, but commonly consists of some three hundred persons, whereof many are Patricians, living honourably upon their rents, as Gentlemen, others are Merchants, and some few Artisans, of the best and richest workemen. The Senate referres to this Counsell, the impositions of tributes, and the decrees of peace and warre, which Subjects of Counsel being rare, this Counsell is seldome called together, but the authority of them is so great, as the scales of any two

## OF THE CITY COMMONWEALTHS

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of them, set to any last Testament, serves in steed of seaven witnesses required by the Civill Law. Out of this great Counsell, the new Senate is yeerely chosen, and when the time of Election is at hand, this great Counsel names a Consull and a Scabine, of the Gentlemen called ancient, or out of the cheefe of the next Order; and in like sort the old Senate of the yeere past, names three of the ancient Gentlemen. These five are called the Electors of the new Senate, and as soone as they are chosen, all Magistracy ceaseth. Then these Electors being sworne, are shut up into a Chamber, whence they come not forth, till they have chosen twenty six Consuls and Scabines, of each thirteen. Then they chuse the rest of the new Senate, and assoone as they are chosen, they name among themselves those that are called ancient, which are commonly the same men, except some bee put in the place of them that are dead, for it is a disgrace to be put from that dignity. This Election is made in one day, and the Senate consists of forty persons, whereof thirty foure are Patricians or Gentlemen, and so the government is especially in the hands of the Gentlemen, as a thing whereof they hold the common people to be incapable. Of these Gentlemen are held the seven Men, and the Senate of the ancient, as also the Captaines and Treasurers.

To be a Doctor of the Civill Law, makes a Gentleman, or any other, to be uncapeable of a Senators place. But when in difficult cases they neede the advise of Doctors, they send two Senators to consult with them, who relate their judgment to the Senate. For this cause, and because all judgments are according to equity, not after the strict Law, there be fewe Doctors in that Citty, neither have they many Advocates; the Senate giving stipend only to foure, who plead all causes. Yet the Citty intertaines some Doctors, to advise them, as I formerly said, & to assist them in judgment, exhibiting the cause in writing, as also to be Ambassadors. To the said 34 Gentlemen, 8 Plebeians are added, which make the said Senate, and these Plebeians have free voyces, but are

*The Doctors  
of the  
Civill Law.*

[III.iv.241.]

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

removed from secret Counsels, and having liberty to be absent, seldome meeete with the Senate, except they be called. So as the common people have little or no authoritie, and are kept under, in so much as meetings (excepting funerals and like ceremonies) and walkings by night are forbidden, yet they have their priviledges inviolably kept, and live in great libertie, under a most equall government. Of these Gentlemen governing the Citie, they have (as I have heard) twenty eight honourable Families or there about. And of the said thirty foure Gentlemen of the Senate, eight are called the Ancient, who like old soldiers are freed from service, the other twentie sixe diligently attending the publike affaires, with capitall and Civill judgements, and one of them is chosen, to intertaine passengers worthy of Honor, by presenting wine to them in name of the Senate, and also to call the Senate together, to propound the causes upon which they deliberate; to aske their Voyces, and to doe many like duties. These twenty sixe Gentlemen are divided into thirteene Consuls, and thirteene Scabines, and these Scabines judge capitall causes (first examined by the whole Senate) as the Consuls judge Civill causes. And they so divide the yeere betweene them, as each of them for a moneth is Consull or Scabine. Out of them are chosen seven men, who have the greatest authority, and determine all secrets of State, and to them the Treasurers make account. And howsoever two of one Family may be Senators, yet two of one Family cannot be of these seven men. Three of these seven are chosen Captaines, who have the keeping of the Armory, and the keyes of the Gates, and upon any tumult all flie to them, and yeeld them obedience. Two of these Captaines are Treasurers, whereof the chiefe hath the first place in all Assemblies. To these Treasurers one of the Plebeans is added, to oversee the expence of the treasure, and two of the best sort of the Plebeans are Clerkes of the Exchequer, but onely the two chiefe Treasurers disburse and lay up all moneys. They have in all publike Counsels two

## OF THE CITY COMMONWEALTHS

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Chauncellors, whereof one alwaies attends the Counsell of seven men, and these Chauncellors write the Decrees of Counsell, receive and reade, write and send, all letters, being as Secretaries, and they have sixe Clerkes to write under them. All the Senators have their severall stipends out of the common Treasure. Each of the seven men hath yeerely five hundred Guldens, besides gainefull Offices, as the keeping of the Seales, and each Treasurer hath eight hundred Guldens, and each Chauncellor two hundred Guldens yeerely. In Judgements they doe not much use the pleadings of Proctors or Advocates, but use to judge summarily upon oath, or to appoint Arbiters to compound controversies.

But among the Courts of Judgements, one is of five men, from whom there is no appeale, yet they referre the greatest causes to the Senate. The second Court is of eight men, and hath two Tribunals, where the causes of citizens are determined, which exceede not the value of thirtie two Crownes, and these two Tribunals in greater causes are united, and have three of foure Doctors appointed by the Senate to advise them; for onely the Scabines judge, and from these Tribunals appeale is granted to the Senate, if the cause exceede the value of five hundred Crownes. These chuse a Judge to see their Decrees put in execution, and to see capitall offenders executed. They appoint a Judge for the Villages and territories subject to the City, for whose assistance the Senate chuseth some out of the great Counsell. These weekly give the Law to the Villages and Country people, and by the exercise of this Office, the Judges are inabled for the Office of Scabines. Also they chuse a Judge to have care of the Faires and Markets, who sets the price of Bread, Flesh, and all things there sold, and he hath foure Senators to assist him in weekly inquiring after the workes of Artificers, that they sell no unperfect workes, nor use any fraude. Of the Senators, three are chosen supreme Tutors for pupils and widowes, who divide inheritances, see that all Testaments be performed, and appoint new Tutors, in case the old bee

*The Courts of  
Judgements.*



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

[III.iv.242.]

dead, suspected, or absent. These supreme Tutors provide, that the moneis of pupils be put forth to use, and that the profit returnes to the pupills. They receive the accompts of the Tutors, and provide that the Pupils be religiously and honestly brought up. One Senator is set over each Church, Monastery, and Almes house, to see the revenues well administred, and to promote the causes thereunto belonging. Five Governors are set over the Territory without the walls, among which, the Chancellor hath yearly one hundreth Crownes, each of the rest twenty five Crownes for stipend. In time of warre, they chuse seven Senators, who take upon them the care to provide all necessities for the same. I understoode there, that not long before, they had numbred in the City twenty two thousand Artificers, servants, and people of inferior rank, and that the last subsidy imposed in time of warre, was one Gold Gulden in the hundreth, of every mans movable and unmovable goods, and one gold Gulden by the Pole, for all such as had neither inheritance nor Art to live upon.

*Augsburg.*

Augsburg is one of the Imperiall Cities (vulgarly Ein Reichs statt) and in the yeare 1364. the Senate consisted of two Patritian Consuls, and of ten Marchants, and seaven Artisans, with power of Tribunes, all yearly chosen. The Emperor Charles the 4 gave the City new privileges, & confirmed the old, because the Citizens swore obedience to his Sonne. And the Emperor Sigismund confirmed and increased the same. When the Emperour Charles the fifth held a Parliament in this Citty, (as many Parliaments have beene held there) the old honour was restored to the Patritians, & the Plebeian Tribunes were taken away, two Advocates being set in their roomes. Two Gentlemen Consuls, at this day governe the City, with six Judges for criminall causes, whereof three are Gentlemen, two Citizens, one Plebeian. These are chosen by the great Senate, consisting of those three Orders: but in causes of Religion, the City is subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Tilling. This City hath many noble and rich Merchants, whereof many have priviledges of

## OF THE CITY COMMONWEALTHS

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*The Family of  
the Fuggari.*

Barrons, and some of Earles; and among them, the chiefe Family is of the Fuggari, famously knowne, being at this time both boyes and men some thirty in number, and the chiefe of them was Marke of the Fuggari, who had married the Daughter to the Earle of Schwartzenburg, and was much delighted in the gathering of antiquities, with much curtesie using to shew the same to such passengers as tooke pleasure therein. Three Cozens of this Family had great and large, but dispersedly scattered possessions, besides that they were rich in treasure, for supply whereof, the Emperour Charles the fifth, and his sonne Phillip King of Spaine, often made use of them, ingaging to them the impositions & custome of Havens for ready money, and giving them great priviledges of trafficke. In which kind the said King of Spaine so obliged them to him, as the heart being alwaies where the treasure is, hee made them no lesse obsequious to him then subjects, so difficult a thing is it, for covetous Merchants to preserve their liberty. Great jealousies were betweene this City and the Duke of Bavaria, whose territory extends to the very walles of the City. And I remember at my last passage through Augsburg, this Duke attempted to stop the course of water from the City, whereupon the Citizens sent out Souldiers to beate backe the Dukes workemen, but the controversie was soone after appeased, and came not to blowes. They perpetually, even in time of peace, keepe some five hundred Souldiers in the City, who dwell in a streete by themselves, and the City being seated upon the mouth of the Alpes, leading into Italy, and the Citizens being diligent in trafficke, it cannot be that it should not abound in riches. Augsburg in the foresaid Parliament held there, after Charles the fifth had overcome the Protestant Princes, was said to have bought their peace of the Emperour with 3000 gold guldens. I know not for what cause they are severe towards strangers, but I observed, that they have a Law forbidding strangers to dwell in the City, allowing them onely a short time of abode, and

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

during the same, curiously observing what businesse they have.

*Strasburg.*

[III. iv. 243.]

Strasburg is also a free City of the Empire, and (as the rest) governed by a Senate yeerely chosen: for howsoever it is one of the Cities leagued with the Cantons of Sweitzerland, yet it is still numbered among the free Imperiall Cities: And it is stately built, and rich in treasure, for so it must needes be, since the ordinary tributes and taxes are so great, as I have heard the Citizens professe, that they yeerely pay one doller in a thousand, for the value of their movable and also unmoveable goods, (wherein the full value of Land, not the yeerely rent, is reckoned), and that if any fraud be detected, in the last Testament, or otherwise, the heire or the party offending (if hee live) is deeply fined for the same. While I passed through the City, they had begun a warre with the Duke of Loraine, about the choice of their Bishop, which warre they had unprovindently denounced, before they had levied Souldiers, or made provisions to make it, so as their territories were exposed to many oppressions, before they could gather troopes to defend them, and offend the enemy: And it was vulgarly reported, that they could deliberate of nothing in counsell so secretly, as it was not presently made knowne to the enemy.

*Franckfort.*

The Imperiall City Franckfort, is famous for the two yeerely Marts, one at Midlent, the other at the middest of September, at which times all neighbour Princes keepe Horsemen to guard the Merchants passing that way, to which Horsemen I remember that each passenger gave 6 creitzers, either of duty or in curtesie, for his person. Also this City is famous for another priviledge contained in the Lawes of the Golden Bulla, namely, that all Emperours must be chosen there, and in case two Emperours be chosen, the same Law defines, that if one of them shall besiege the City, and there expect his enemy halfe a moneth, and if in that time he come not to breake the siege, then it shall be free for the City to receive the first, as having the victory: For of old custome the new

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chosen Emperours keepe their coronation Feast in this City, with great magnificence, which was lastly kept (as they said) by Maximilian the second, at which time among other solemnities, they roasted an Oxe in the midst of the field for the people, and when the Marshal of the Court had cut a peece as for the Emperor, the rest of the Oxe was in a moment rent in peeces by the common people.

I must make at least some mention of the Cities lying upon the Sea of Germany towards the North, whereof most are not onely called free, because they are Imperiall Cities, but by the same name, though in divers signification, are called *Hans steten*, that is, Free Cities, in respect of the priviledges of trafficke granted to them of old in the neighbour Countries.

Among these Lubecke is the chiefe of the neighbor *Lubeck.* Cities joined in league for common defence, whither the Senators of all the other Cities come once in the yeere, to consult of publike affaires. The territory of the City reacheth not above a German mile, but after some few miles distance, there is a certaine Towne which belongs to Lubecke and Hamburg, by common right, being ingaged to them for money by the Duke of Lower Saxony, of whom they after bought the rest of his Inheritance. This Towne for sixe yeeres space was wont to be kept by those of Lubecke, appointing the Governour, and receiving the rents; which time ended, those of Hamburg were wont to have it in like sort for sixe yeeres, and so by turnes they were wont to enjoy it. Lubecke of old had a Duke, till it was subjected to the Empire by the Emperour Fredericke the first, after whose death it became subject to their Duke againe, and after five yeeres became subject to the Danes, but by the helpe of Fredericke the scond it freed it selfe from the Danes in the yeere 1226, and after by favour of the Emperours obtained freedome and absolute power: Both Lubecke and Hamburg are said of old to have acknowledged the Kings of Denmarke, but at last expel-



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[III.iv.244.]

ling the Kings Proctors, they became free, and submitted themselves to the defence of the Empire: For which cause to this day they warily observe the actions of the Kings of Denmarke, and live in feare and suspition of their attempts, and howsoever they have freedome and absolute power, yet they are carefull to have the favour of the Kings of Denmarke, because they have power to hinder their trafficke in the Baltike Sea: yet sometimes leagued with the neighbour cities (which in the common cause of freedome are easily drawne to give mutuall aide), they have made warres against the Kings of Denmarke with good successe. Lubecke is commended for just government, (not to speake of their hospitality, very faire and uniforme buildings, and the very pleasant seate of the Towne). It is governed by the civill Law, and by statutes made by the Senate; as also some made by the consent of the confederate cities. No appeale to Universities or to the Chamber of the Empire is admitted, except the cause be above the value of five hundred dollers. They lately made sumptuary Lawes, restraining the number of guests and dishes in Feasts, with penalties according to the excesse. The Citizens yeerely chuse twenty new Senators, and this Senator chuseth of their number foure Consuls, with a Judge skilfull in the civill Lawes. These Magistrates define all civill and criminal causes, the whole Senate first examining them, and judgements are given by common consent with the doores shut: but when any capitall judgement is to be executed, at the day appointed to the Malefactor, and the very houre he is to die, the hangman pronounceth the sentence in the market place. The consuls take the highest place by turnes, one in the morning, the other in the afternoone, at which times they also by turnes heare Ambassadors, and receive complaints. Many Offices are devided among the Senators, two gather the rents, others have care of the wines, (which are sold in a publike house to publike use, no private man being allowed to make that gaine), others oversee the buildings, that they be uniforme and strongly

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built, and free from danger of fier, and likewise the fortifications of the City. Foure Serjeants attired in red pownes, attend the Senate, and summon men to appeare, (besides twelve inferiour Serjeants), and they neither carry sword nor any Mace before the Magistrates, but follow them in the streetes like Servants. They doe not imprison any debtor or light offender, but onely summon such to appeare before the Magistrate, and declare to them the fines imposed for not appearing: but they apprehend capitall offenders, and prevent their escape by flight. It is not lawfull for a creditor to put his debtor in prison, but after a set time and with cautions, prescribed in the Law of Saxony, wherein notwithstanding, they of Lubecke so favour strangers, as they onely have right in this kind with expedition, and have a proper tribunall (or seate of judgement) for themselves onely: yet herein they seeme not favourable to strangers, in that they permit them not to dwell in the City, otherwise they doe as the common use is, to keepe all commodities in the hands of Citizens, not to be sold to strangers, but by a Citizen, especially since without the helpe of strangers they have their owne ships to bring in and carry out all commodities.

Hamburg is in like sort governed, but I cannot so much commend them for hospitality, being rude to all strangers, and malicious to Englishmen above others, for no other cause then for that our Merchants leaving that City, seated themselves at Stoade: so as it was not safe for any stranger, much lesse for an Englishman, to walke abroad after dinner, when the common people are generally heated with drinke: And the very Justice was herein commonly taxed, not that they punished whoredom (which no good man will disallow) but that they permitted whores in great multitudes, and yet favoured the knavery of the Sergeants, who combining with the whores, intrapped men in their houses, so as not onely the whores & Sergeants made profit thereby, but the very Magistrates were justly suspected, to approve this course for their owne gaine.

Brunswick an Imperiall City, worthily to be numbred *Brunswicks.*

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

among the cheefe, & so called as the Village of Bruno, is not farre distant from Hamburg, and seated in the center of Saxony, was of old (as they say) the Metropolitan City therof. It consists of five Cities gathered into one, wherof each hath his severall priviledges, and they are thus seated, Alstatt is the part on the West side, Newstatt on the North side, Imsacke the part towards the East, Imhagen, & Altweg (built first of all the rest) are the part towards the South. And howsoever all these have each their severall Senators and priviledges, yet all of them jointly making the city of Brunswick, live under one common Law and government, the Senators of each by yerely courses governing the whole body of that commonwealth. For howsoever tenn Consuls be yerely chosen, two of each City, yet to the two Consuls of that City which by course is to govern for the yeere, the other eight as inferiour, and much more all the Senators of the five Cities, yeelde for the time great reverence in the Senate and all meetings, and great obedience in all things commanded. One Senate house is common to all the five Cities, yet each of them hath also a private Senate-house.

[III.iv.245.]

The forme of the publike government is Democraticall (or popular.) They live in such feare of the Duke of Brunswick, lest he should take away their liberty, as they have not onely fortified the Towne very strongly against assaults or sieges, but also willingly imploy their Citizens in forraigne warres as hired souldiers, insomuch as no man is made free who hath not first served one or two yeeres in the warres.

*The Dukes of  
Brunswick  
and of  
Luneburg.*

The Dukes of Brunswick & of Luneburg, derive their pedigree from one root, namely, from the old family of the Dukes of Bavaria: for Henrie called the Lion, D. of Bavaria, (who was Duke and Elector of Saxony also, commanding a most ample Territory), being proscribed by the Emperour, and for a time living as a banished man in England, the Dukedome of Bavaria was by the Emperour given in Fee to the Palatines of the Rheine, and so passed to a new Family. This Henrie the Lion

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died in Brunswick about the yeere 1195. His eldest sonne Otho the fourth being chosen Emperour, was overcome by his Competitor, and being againe raised to that dignitie, was put from it by Frederike the second, and died 1218. Otho his brothers Sonne, was forced to yeeld the Dukedome of Saxony to the Elector of Saxony Albert the second. And the Emperour Frederick the second cast his Garrison out of Brunswick, with the helpe of the Citizens, and made Brunswick a free Imperiall City. But at last the Emperour upon the submission of Otho forgave him, and created him Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. This Otho died in the yeere 1252, from whom this house was subvided into the following Families. From Henrie the Wonderfull, descend the Lords of Ember and Grobenhagen. From Albert the Fat, dying in the yeere 1318, descend the Dukes of Brunswick and of Luneburg, as followeth.

Magnus Torquatus heire of both Dukedomes (whose garrison the citizens of Luneburg cast out of the castle Calkberg), left three sonnes.

Frederick  
chosen Emper-  
our against  
Wenceslaus,  
killed by trea-  
cherie in the  
yeere 1400.

Bernard after—  
the killing of  
his brother  
yeelded the D.  
of Brunswick  
to his Nephew  
William, & re-  
taining the D.  
of Luneburg,  
died 1434.

From

Henrie died—  
before his bro-  
ther Frederick.

William



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From Bernard descend Otho, who exhibited the Reformed Confession at Augsburg and died 1549.

And Ernest, who reformed Religion, and died 1546, buried at Cella.

Francis of the reformed religion, left two daughters no heires males, and died 1549.

William the Victorious, at the death of his Uncle Frederick possessed the Dukedome of Brunswick, which his Uncle Bernard did yeeld to him. Hee died 1482.

Otho Lord of Harburg, had to his first wife the daughter to the Earle of Schwartzenburg; and with the second Wife, Daughter to the Earle of Emden, hee then lived when I passed though Germany.

Anne borne 1526.

Henry married the daughter of the D. of the lower Saxony, dwelling at Angria.

William in the yere 1561, married Dorothy, Daughter to Christian King of Denmarke.

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Otho had by his first wife two sonnes, Otho Henrich, borne 1555; and John Frederick borne 1557; and one daughter, Elizabeth, borne 1553, and married to the King of Succia. And by his second wife, sixe sonnes. William borne 1564. Euno borne 1565. Christopher borne 1570. Otho borne 1572. John borne 1573. Frederick borne 1578. And three daughters, Anna Margarita borne 1567. Hedvigis borne 1569. Catherina Sophia borne 1577.

The first house of the Dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick (for the titles are common to al.)

Henry had three sons, Julius Ernestus borne 1571. Francis Cannon of Strasburg, borne 1572. And Augustus borne 1579. And two daughters, Sibilla Elizabetha borne 1576. And Sidonia borne 1577.

The second branch likewise Dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick.

From

William had seven sons, Ernest borne 1564. Christian borne 1561. Augustus borne 1568. Frederick borne 1574. Magnus borne 1577, then Rector of the Universitie of Jena. George borne 1582. John borne 1583. And seven daughters, Sophia married to George, Marquis of Brandenburg 1579. Elizabeth to the Count of Hohelm 1585. Doroty borne 1570. Clara 1571. Margaret 1573. Marie 1575. And Sibilla 1584.

The third branch with the same titles.

A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

{  
Dukes  
of  
Brunswick.  
}

From William the Victorious descends Henry,  
who twice in vaine besieged Brunswick aided by  
other free Cities. He died 1514.

And Ericus, called  
the Popish.

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Henrie made captive by the Elector of Saxony  
1545, twice besieged Brunswick. He had two  
sisters and foure brothers; Ericus, Christopher  
Bishop of Verden, Francis, and George Archbishop  
of Breme. The eldest married Mary, Daughter to  
the Duke of Wirtemberg, and died 1568.

Ericus called also the Popish, married his  
daughter to John Prince Dauria of Genoa in  
Italy. He had a base sonne, who died without  
issue, and lies buried with his Father at Pavia  
in Italy.

## OF THE DUKES OF BRUNSWICK

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He had four sisters, Catherine married to John Marquise of Brandeburg. Margaret to the D. of Munsterberg. Clara first an Abbess, then married to Phillip Lord of Grubenhagen. And Mary an Abbess.

Julius, his two elder Brethren being killed, left his Priest-hood, reformed Religion after Luthers doctrine, founded an Universitie at Helmstat, and called it Julia; married Hedvigis, daughter to Joachim the second, Elector of Brandeburg, and died in the yeere 1589.

Henrie Julius borne 1562 Administrator of two Bishopricks of Halberstat and Mind, first married Dorothy Daughter to Augustus Elector of Saxony, then Elizabeth daughter to Frederike King of Denmark, yet living.

Three brothers, Philip Sigismond Bishop of Verden, borne 1568. Joachim Carolus borne 1573. Julius Augustus borne 1578.

Five sisters, Sophia married to Ernest Duke of Pomern. Mary to Francis D. of lower Saxony 1582. Elizabeth to the Count of Schaumberg. Dorothy borne 1577. Hedvigis 1580.

By his first wife he had Dorothy Hedvigis borne 1587, by the second Frederike Udalrike borne 1591.

The second house of the Duke of Brunswicke, more powerfull then all the former joyned.



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*The Duke of  
Brunswicke.*

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

The Duke of Brunswicke keepes his Court at a strong Castle, within the little City Wolfenbeiten, lesse then a German mile distant from Brunswick, of which City he beares the title, in respect it of old belonged to his Progenitors (in which kind he is also called Duke of Lunenburg, to which he hath right of succession, and Burgrave of Nurnberg, which title hath beene long extinct), not that he hath any least power over the City, or so much as a house therein, whom the Citizens rather wish many miles removed from them. I have said that Henry Julius Duke of Brunswick hath three brothers, and that the eldest of them was Bishop of Verden, but when my selfe passed that way, I understood that of these three younger brothers, the eldest was Bishop of Osenburg, the next Channon of Strasburg, and that the youngest was a Student in the University of Helmstatt, founded by his Father: And it is worth observation, that the Duke himselfe was Administrator of two Bishoprickes. I have shewed that the City of Brunswicke got their liberty by the Sword, in the time of Duke Otho, and with the aide of the Emperour Fredericke the second: And as they gained it by Armes, so they maintaine it, having beene often besieged by the Dukes, and to this day bearing up the same against the Dukes, with whom they cease not to expostulate, that they usurpe the title of their City. And not long before my passage that way, when at the marriage of the Duke with the sister to the King of Denmarke, the Citizens of Brunswicke discharged some great Peeces of Artillery in honour of the marriage, yet so great are the jealousies betweene the Duke and them, as hee tooke it in ill part, and shaking his head for anger, said it was done in ostentation of their strength, and as the threatning of enemies rather then the triumph of friends: And the Senators of Brunswicke, though invited to the marriage, yet would not come thither. Neither doe they willingly suffer the Duke to come into their City. And not long before, when the Duke for pleasure disguised himselfe as a Carman, and drove a Cart of wood into the City, to be sold there, the

## OF THE DUKES OF BRUNSWICK

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chief Consul having notice thereof, commanded the gates to be shut, and the streets to be chained, & when the Duke had long sate upon the cart, with some annoiance by reason of raine, and found he could not goe back, and thought it dangerous to goe into any private house, at last the Consul bought his wood, and so drew the Duke to his house, where he intertained him honorably, yet remembred him that he had put himselfe in needles danger, knowing the ill affection of the common people towards him, and then sending for the Dukes servantes to attend him, led him out of the city with honour.

Luneburg a free City of the Empire, is strongly fortified, and statly built, but hath no lesse jealousy with the neighbor Dukes, bearing the title of the City, yet they neither dwell in the City, nor medle with the government therof, but abide at Cella, and at Setherne, some twelve miles distant, and in other Cities of that Province, according to the devision of their inheritance betweene them. The Citizens of Luneburg knowing that of old they bought their liberty of these Dukes, and that to this day they pay them some tributes, justly feare lest the Duke or his Brothers and Cosens, being many in number, shold practise any thing against their liberty, or at least being poor, shold seek new occasions to extort mony from them. The Duke of old had a strong Castle, built upon a Mountaine hanging over the City, vulgarly called Kalckberg, that is the Mountaine of Chalke; but the Butchers of the City, at a Shroftide, making shew of mustering in Armes, tooke this Castle, for which service to the Common-wealth, the Butchers to this day have the keeping therof. But the Citizens are so suspitious, lest it should be betraied to the Duke for mony, as if any of them who keep it, doe at any time goe forth of it, into the City or to any other place, they are no more permitted to enter the same.

*The City &  
the Dukes of  
Luneburg.*

[III. iv. 248.]

Upon the furthest shore of the Baltike sea towards the North-east, the free City of Dantzke is seated. It is free in respect of priviledges for traffique, and for that it is

*Dantzke.*

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governed by the Senators and the Lawes of the City, yet not numbered among the Imperiall Cities, because it in some sort acknowledgeth the King of Poland, and paies some covenanted tributes to his Minister residing in the City. In the time of Stephen Bathory Prince of Transilvania and King of Poland, this City was by him besieged, and forced to pay these tributes. Wherupon the Citizens to pay them without their own prejudice, doubled all Impositions upon strangers trading there. The Consul of the City there, (as in all Germany) is vulgarly called Burgomaster, & he judgeth all civill & criminal causes, but appeales are granted from him to the Colledge of civil Lawyers, & from them to the Senate of the City, and in some causes, from the Senate to the King of Poland. This City consists of three Cities, vulgarly called Reichstat, Furstat, & Altstadt (that is, the City of the Kingdome, the fore City, and the old City), and each hath his gates, and his Senate, and the Consull may be chosen out of either Senate, so as for the time of his Office, he reside in the cheefe City, called Reichstatt. Here be the furthest limits of the Empire towards the North and the East.

And from hence towards the West lies the shore of the Balticke Sea, and of the German Ocean, upon which are seated Stetinum, Meckleburg, Lubecke, Hamburg, and Breame, Imperiall Cities, and free, as well for priviledges of trafficke in neighbour Kingdomes, as for absolute government at home: And in East-Freesland (for West-Freesland belongs to Netherland) the furthest limits of the Empire towards the West and North, end in the City of Emden.

*Emden.* This City hath his Count, bearing title of the City, and of late he kept his Court therein: but the Citizens professing the reformed Doctrine of Calvin, and the Count attempting to force them to the profession of Luthers Doctrine, not long before I passed that way, the Citizens expelled the Count, and gave oath to the Senators of the City, to obey them, to be ready in armes for the defence of the City, and not to remove their dwellings from thence

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without leave of the Senate. And the Citizens were thus confident, because the City lies upon the confines of the Netherlanders, who maintained men of warre in that Inland Sea, and upon the River passing by the wals of the City, to stop any passage, and to defend the ships of Merchants, forced in those flats to expect the returne of the tide. And generally it was thought that Emden would joine in league with the united Provinces of Netherland, but as yet it remained under the Empire, not free by priviledge, nor yet subject to the Count of Emden. This Count at this time had two sonnes by the daughter of the King of Suetia, and howsoever his younger brother by the love of his mother, had obtained the best part of the inheritance, yet he had no children, nor was thought likely to have any, so as no doubt was then made, but that the whole inheritance would after his death returne to the children of the elder brother. And these things shall suffice, briefly written in generall of the Common-wealth of Germany, and in particular, of the absolute Dominions under the Empire.

### Chap. V.

[III.iv.249.

Of the Common-wealth of Sweitzerland, according to the divers subjects of the former Chapters.



He Sweitzers derived of divers peoples (and among others of the Schwalen and Friselanders), howsoever they be Germans both in language and manners, yet because the old Galles gave them a seat at the foote of the Alpes, they were accounted Galles (or French) till the time of Julius Cæsar. In the Commentaries of Cæsar, wee find their Commonwealth divided into foure Communities, whereof one, namely that of Zurech, had not long before overthrown the Army of Lucius Cassius Consul of Rome. About this time the Sweitzers weary of their barren seat, attempted to seeke a new place of dwelling, had not



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Cæsar overcome them, and contained them at home. And from that time to the daies of Charles the Great, and so long as his race possessed the renewed Empire of the West, they were still esteemed Galles: but when that imperiall dignity fell to the Germans, they became subjects to those Emperours, and were numbred among the Germans, having the same manners, lawes, and customes with them, as at this day they have. The Emperours governed this Nation, by Governours vulgarly called Reichsvogt, till at last the Commonwealth of the Sweitzers was severed from that of the Germans, and made a free state, which in the age before ours, hath gotten great reputation: And here it is worthy to be observed, that the ambition of Popes, and their divellish tyranny over the Emperours, not onely (after some eight hundred yeeres from Christ) caused almost all the Garboyles of States, whereof we have heard, or read, or which with our owne eyes wee have scene, but in particular were the chiefe, yea, sole causes, of rending this strong member from the body of the Empire. Sweitzerland about that time, abounded with noble Families, and them the Governours favoured, to increase their owne power, whereupon they oppressed the common people, and provoked their extreame hatred, so as they were forced to combine themselves in mutuall league against this oppression: yet the common people had never dared to oppose themselves to the Gentry, if the Empire had enjoied peace: But when the Bishops of Rome, often cast out their spirituall thunderbolts (I meane excommunications) against the Emperours, and aswell absolved all subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, as heartned ambitious Traitors to be competitors against the Emperours, yea, stirred up their Kinsmen and their very Children to make civill warre with them: in this confused Anarchy, a Patron was not wanting to the most wicked person, to defend him, so he would follow his party. Hence it came, that when the Emperour Fredericke the second, in the yeere 1240, received the common people of Sweitzerland into his protection against

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the Gentlemen, they likewise, as the Clients of Monasteries, followed the Popes party, whereupon the people of Zurech, the Urii and Suitii, (of whom the whole Nation is called Sweitzers) being three Communities, first in the yeere 1251, made a league for three yeeres against the Gentlemen, lying in waite to intrap them; and after by little and little, they made more firme and perpetuall leagues for defence of absolute liberty: and serving divers Emperours in the Papall tumults, from time to time obtained great priviledges. Then they drew other Communities and neighbour Cities to be partners of their leagues. Finally, after they had rooted out the Families of Gentlemen, and had by conspiracy cast out the Governours of the Arch-Dukes of Austria (to whom the Lordship of Sweitzerland was fallen), they in processe of time attained this absolute State, which we see them enjoy at this day: For the foresaid strife continuuing betweene the Emperours and the Popes, and Lodwick of Bavaria contending for the Empire with Fredericke of the House of Austria, the Sweitzers tooke part with Lodwicke, who expressly ratified the freedome or liberty of their Commonwealth. [III.iv.250.]

And that consists of three parts, the communities (vulgarly called Cantons) the fellowes or confederates, and the stipendary Cities, or governments, to which Semler addeth the forraigne leagues for a fourth part. *Four parts of the Commonwealth.*

The communities are vulgarly called Orts, and by the Italians Cantons of the Sweitzers, (as we will hereafter call them), and they are thirteene in number. Among these Cantons, the Urii (comming from the Taurisci) the Suitii (comming from the Cimbri) the Undervaldii (of the race of banished Romans) about the yeere 1308, made a mutuall league for ten yeeres, and having overcome in battell Leopold Arch-Duke of Austria, in the yeere 1315, made this league perpetuall. Lucerna the fourth Canton, being much wronged, while it was under the Patronage of the House of Austria, to avoide tyranny in that confusion of the Empire, did in the yeere 1332, joine it selfe *Thirteene Cantons.*

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in perpetuall league. Zurech a free City of the Empire, was in like sort received for the 5 Cantons. When these cantons made war upon Glarona, to have the possession of a country most commodious for the common good, all the people so hated the Governors appointed by the House of Austria, and so desired freedome, as they yeelded up themselves to the Cantons, and so Glarona the foresaid yeere became the sixth Canton: Likewise when the Canton Zurech made warre upon Zug, a Towne (possessed by gentlemen subject to the House of Austria) whence they were much annoied, the Citizens being forsaken by the Gentlemen, yeelded themselves, and being received into the league, became the seventh Canton. Berne a free city of the Empire, and under the power of the Governours, having found the faithfull love of the Cantons, in the said confusion of the Empire, did in the yeer 1352, make a perpetuall league with the three first named Cantons, wherein notwithstanding Zurech and Lucerna are contained, the three Cantons being bound to those two, for the succour of Bern, and being bound to Bern, for the succour of the two Cantons, and so Bern became the eight Canton. The Towne Friburg, subject to the House of Austria, being many waies oppressed in the said confusion of the Empire, made league with Bern, and when the House of Austria, upon pretence to visit them, did for that cause, spoile them of their goods, they in the yeere 1481, after the end of the Burgundian warre, became the ninth Canton. Solothurn a free City of the Empire, had made a perpetuall league with Berne in the yeere 1351, and after in the yeere 1481, was received for the tenth Canton. Bazil a free City of the Empire, had in the yeare 1327 made a perpetuall league with the 3 first Cantons, & after provoked by many injuries of the house of Austria, did in the yeare 1501 make a perpetuall league with all the Cantons, and so was received for the Eleventh Canton. Scaphusen an Imperiall city, first sold or ingaged to the house of Austria, and againe united to the Empire, when the Duke of Austria was proscribed in the Council

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of Costnetz, because the Emperor Frederick the third in the year 1454, exacted an oath of the citizens, as Duke of Austria not as Emperor, they first made a league for certaine yeares with six Cantons, and after at the end of the Suevian warr made a perpetuall league in the year 1501 with all the Cantons, and so becam the twelfth Canton. Abbatisella vulgarly called Apinzill, containing eight Villages, after it had obtained freedome from the Abbot of Saint Gallus by Armes and mony, had warr with the house of Austria about the year 1408, at which time it made a league with the Cantons, and after provoked by the injuries of the said Abbot, in the year 1452, it made a perpetuall league with the seaven first Cantons, and at last in the year 1513 became the thirteenth Canton.

Among the fellowes in league, first the Abbot of Saint Gallus in the year 1451, obtained to be made a cityzen of the foure Cantons, Zurech, Lucerna, Suitia, and Glarona, which right all the Abbots renewe, and promise that all their possessions shall lie open to the said Cantons, and that in controversies they will rest in the judgement of the cantons, and by another agreement each of these Cantons appoint a captain to be Assessor to the Abbot in judgment, and the cantons have halfe of all mulcts or fines imposed, and the subjects of the Abbot are bound to serve them in warr. And howsoever some of the cantons at this day are of the reformed religion, yet they send a captaine according to the covenant, and defend all the rights of the Monastery. In the second place, is the towne of Saint Gallus, which having bought freedome from all rights of the Abbot and of the Empire, made a perpetuall league with six Cantons, Zurech, Bern, Lucerna, Suitia, Zug, and Glarona, which was confirmed in the year 1454.

*Fellowes in  
league.*

[III. iv. 251.]

In the third place are the Rhæti, called Grisons by the Itallians, devided into three leagues. The first is called the upper league, consisting of nintene communities, and was made with the seaven old cantons in the year 1407.



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The second, in respect of the Bishoprick of Chur, is called the league of the house of God, consisting of nineteene communities, (wherof two use the Language of Germany, the rest the Language of the country, being corrupt Italian), which the yeare following joined in league with the cantons. The third league called the tenne judgments, (or jurisdictions) & consisting of tenne communities joined in the league with the Cantons in the yeare 1498, and at the same time the house of Austria preparing war against the Rhetians, they all jointly made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons.

In the fourth place the seaven tenths of the Valesians, and the Bishop of Sedune Earle of Valesia, for the controversies of religion in our time, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with seaven Cantons of the Roman Religion, Lucerna, Uri, Svitia, Undervaldia, Tugium, (vulgarly Zug), Friburg, and Solodurum, (vulgarly Solothurne).

The Towne Rotevilla in the fifth place, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons, in the yeere 1519; but because it is seated in Germany, out of the confines of the mountainous Sweitzerland, caution was made that without the consent of the Cantons, they shall make no warre, nor give any aides, and if warre be made upon them, in case the enemy consent, they shall rest in the judgement which the Cantons shall hold just and equall: And that they shall make no league without the consent of the Cantons, and in time of civill warre shall follow the greatest part of them.

In the sixth place Mulhusium of old an Imperiall City, was incorporated to the City of Bazill in the yeere 1506, and after nine yeeres, made a perpetuall league of fellowship with all the Cantons.

In the seventh place, the Towne Bienna (or Bipennium) enjoying all priviledges under the Bishop of Bazell in the yeere 1303, made a more firme league with Bern in the yeere 1352.

In the eighth place is Geneva, which gave all rights, and kept all olde covenants with the Bishop thereof, till

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bee sold the same to the Duke of Savoy. After that time, this City made divers leagues with the Cantons for certaine yeeres, and at last covenanted the right of Citizens with the Canton of Bern, and being assailed for Religion, confirmed the same more strictly, in the yeere 1536, since which time some motions have beene made, to unite Geneva with the Cantons in publike league, but hitherto it could not be effected.

In the ninth and last place is the Towne Neocomum, with the County thereof, which the Sweitzers tooke in the warre against the King of France, Lewis the twelfth, and because it belonged to the Duke of Longoville in France, his widow in the yeere 1529, obtained to have it restored to her upon certaine conditions, yet still it hath league of fellowship with the Cantons of Bern, Lucern, Friburg, and Solothurn, and the Lords of the County have a particular league with the Canton of Bern.

Touching the people governed by the Sweitzers in common, they be five stipendiary Cities, and nine governments. The Cities are so called, because they serve the Sweitzers in warre at their stipend, and having their owne Magistrates, yet are subject to the Cantons, and ruled by their statutes. These Cities of old subject to the House of Austria, became subject to the Cantons, upon condition that keeping their priviledges, they should obey them in the same manner, as formerly they did the house of Austria. The Sweitzers took Baden, Brimogart, and Mellina, when the Duke of Austria was proscribed, & after the Emperour ingaged those cities to the Canton of Zurech, which made other 7 cantons partners of that ingagement, namely, Lucerna, Suitia, Undervaldia, Uria, Tugium, Glarona, and Berna. The Sweitzers tooke Rapersvilla in the yeare 1458, being received into the city, and helped by those of their faction. And they tooke the fifth city Frawenfield, in the yeare 1460, when the Duke of Austria was excommunicated, upon the Popes command well pleasing to them. Among the Governments, that of Baden is subject to the

*Stipendiary  
Cities and  
Govern-  
ments.*

[III.iv.252.]

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foresaid eight Cantons. The second of Turg is subject to al the same Cantons, excepting Bern, but the judgements & Fines belong to the ten old Cantons. The third of the free Province, was given to the Sweitzers in fee from the Emperor, when the said Duke of Austria was proscribed, and it is subject to the same Cantons, excepting Bern, but the Governor dwels not among them, onely using to come to them for the judgement of causes. The fourth is the country of the Sarunetes, sold by their Earle to the said Cantons, excepting Bern, in the yeer 1483. The first of the Rhegusci was sold to the Canton Apenzill in the yeare 1460, and the Cantons drew it to common subjection, when Apenzill was admitted into the number of the Cantons, so as Apenzill also is partner in that Government.

In the last place are the foure Governments beyond the Alpes, seated in Italy, namely the town Lucanum, the Locarnenses, the Medrisiani, & the middle vally, which the Duke of Milan gave to the Cantons for a reward, upon the casting out of the French in the yeare 1513, and yet the King of France, Francis the first, after upon the casting out of that Duke, confirmed this guift to the Cantons. To these is added the towne Bilitioni sold to the Cantons, Uria, Suitia, and Undervaldia, in the yeare 1422, the country wherof is divided into three Governments, commaunded by the said three Cantons, by courses or turnes.

*Forraigne  
leagues for  
yeers, namely  
the papall  
leagues.*

Touching forraigne leagues. Among those made for certaine yeares, Pope Sixtus in the yeare 1478 made league with the Sweitzers, and gave them large spirituall indulgences. Likewise at the end of the Sweitzers league with the king of Fraunce Lewis the twelfth, in the yeare 1509, Pope Julius the second in the yeare 1510 made league with the Sweitzers, but the soldiers levied under the pay of Pope Julius, perceiving that he delt not directly and truely with them, imploying them to expell the king of Fraunce out of Milan, whome he had hired under pretence to defend the Church against the Duke of Ferrara, they could not containe themselves from returning

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suddenly into their country, and being dismissed without pay, they ceased not with many threatnings to storm against the Pope. Yet in the yeer 1511 the same Pope Julius being overcome by the French, he called the Sweitzers again to his aide, who sent him an Army of 20000 foote, at which time the Sweitzers being offended with the French, cast them out of Milan, wherupon Pope Julius gave to this commonwealth the title of the Defender of the Church, & divers Banners charged with divers Images, and a Cap for signe of liberty, with a sword. Also Maximilianus Sfortia by their aide being then put into the possession of the Dukedome of Milan, made league with the Sweitzers, and gave them the fore-saide Governments in Italy. Also Pope Leo the tenth in the yeere 1515, joyned himselfe to the league, made betweene the Emperour Maximilian, and Sfortia Duke of Milan, and the Sweitzers, against the King of France. Lastly, Pope Clement the eight, sitting in the chaire of Rome when I passed through Italy, had also league with the Sweitzers.

But I must come to the hereditary forraigne leagues, which onely, and no other, can truly be called part of the Commonwealth.

Among the cheefe of them, is that of Milan: And not to speake of the ancient leagues, which some of the Cantons had with the Insubres, old inhabitants of Lombardy, Galeacius Duke of Milan in the yeere 1466, made a league with eight Cantons, (wherein mention is made of the said leagues with the Insubres), and he granted to the Urii, that they should possesse the Lepontian Valley, for which they were to send unto the Duke yeerely foure Hawkes and a Crosse-bow: Moreover he granted to the eight Cantons, that in his Dukedome they should bee free from all impositions and taxes. Afterwards these and other heads of that league, were confirmed and renewed by the Duke his successours: And Ferdinand Gonzaga in the name of the Emperour Charles the fifth, confirmed the same in the yeere 1551. And among other heads of

*Forraigne  
hereditary  
leagues, as  
that of Milan.*

[III.iv.253.]



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that league, it is covenanted, that it shall be free for the Sweitzers to buy corne, yet in time of dearth, they may carry none out of the Dukedome, onely some 200 bushels shall in that case be sold to them, as friends. Also cautions are inserted about the buying and carrying of salt, and that they shall freely passe to and fro without safe conduct, excepting those times in which Sweitzerland shall be infected with the plague, and that they shall be free from impositions in all places, excepting the city of Milan; where they shall pay custome at the gates. Lastly, that the Sweitzers thus priviledged, shall not take any others to be partners in trafficke with them, to the prejudice of the Dukedome; and that all such shall be excluded from these priviledges, as have fled out of the Dukedome, whether they live in Sweitzerland or else where: And this league was made to continue foure yeers after the death of the Emperour Charles the fifth, and this time expired, howsoever the league was not for a time renewed, yet the Sweitzers enjoied all these priviledges. This hereditary league descends to the Kings of Spaine, who succeed Charles the fifth in the said Dutchy of Milan, and all his possessions in Italy.

*The  
Burgundian  
and Austrian  
league.*

The Sweitzers have had sharpe warres with the House of Burgundy, and long continuing warres with the House of Austria, which at last were ended in league and friendship. The first warre of Burgundy began in the yeere 1474, the House of Austria using the pride & ambition of the Dukes of Burgundy, to keepe downe the Sweitzers, with whom themselves had often fought with no good successe: For the cause of the warre sprang from certaine Countries, to this end ingaged by Sigismund Duke of Austria, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, whence the desired & expected jealousies grew between them, which Lewis the 11 King of France did nourish, bearing a spleene to Duke Charles, and for that cause did furnish the Sweitzers with money to make that warre: And Sigismund Duke of Austria more to incourage the Sweitzers, made league with them against the Duke of Burgundy.

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Also the Emperor Frederick of the House of Austria, leading an Army against the said Duke, did stirre up the Sweitzers to assaile him. But when they had with good successe pierced into Burgundy, the Emperour made peace with the said Duke, wherein the Sweitzers were not contained, so as the Duke turned all his Forces upon them, and not to speake of light skirmishes and fights, the maine busines was tried betweene them in three battels, wherein the Duke himselfe was in person. First at the town Granson, where the Sweitzers had the victory, but they having no horse, (which could not so soone be sent to them from their confederates), and the horse of the Duke defending the foot in their flight, few of the Burgundians were killed there. Secondly, they fought at Morat; where they write that 26000 of the Burgundians were slaine. And to this day huge heapes of dead bones lie in that place, to witnes that great overthrow. The third battel was at Nancy, a City of Lorain; where Charles Duke of Burgundy besieged Renatus Duke of Loraine, confederate with the Sweitzers, and then 8000 Sweitzers & 3000 of their confederates sent to helpe them, overcame the Duke of Burgundy, and himselfe being killed in flight, his death gave an end to that warre in the yeere 1477.

After the house of Austria had made many wars & leagues for yeers with the Sweitzers, at last Sigismund Duke of Austria, before the Burgundian warre, made an hereditary league with them, Lewis the French King mediating the same, that hee might draw the Sweitzers to make warre with Charles the proud Duke of Burgundy. By this league it was agreed, that any controversies falling, they should be put to Arbiters, both parts binding themselves to stand to their judgement. That al old leagues alwaies preserved, they should serve the Duke of Austria in his wars, upon the same pay they have at home serving the State. On the other side, that the possessors should hold all places, without calling into question for them. That neither part shold joine in league the subjects of the other, or make them free of their Cities. That neither

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[III.iv.254.]

*The German  
Emperors  
renew the  
League of  
Austria.*

*Phillip King  
of Spaine  
renewes the  
Leagues of  
Burgundy  
and Milan.*

part should burthen the other with customes or impositions. At this time in the yeere 1474, many neighbour Princes, Cities, and Bishops, did joine themselves in league for yeeres: but the foresaid league with the house of Austria, ceased in the time of the Emperour Maximilian the first, who made League with the Princes and cities of Germany, against the Sweitzers (called the great League of Suevia.)

That warre ended, Maximilian in the yeere 1511, renewed the former League, joyning therein the house of Burgundy, and his grand-child Charles (after made Emperour the fifth of that name), so uniting all the thirteene Cantons with both those houses, and he promised in the name of Charles, that he should yeerely pay in the Towne of Zurech two hundred gold crownes to each Canton, for a testimony of love, and for the Abbot of Saint Gallus, and the Towne, and besides for Apenzill, he should yeerely give each of them one hundred Crownes, and that he should confirme this league. This was done in the yeere 1543, wherein Charles the Emperour renewed the League of Burgundy, and his brother Ferdinand succeeding him in the Empire, renewed the League of the House of Austria.

At this time whereof I write, the Ambassadour of the King of Spaine resided at Friburg, and Philip King of Spaine, sonne to Charles, had (as I understood by Sweitzers of good credit) renewed the Leagues of Burgundy and Milan, with the Cantons of the Roman religion, to last five yeres after his death; and this was done in the Church of Milan, where the Ambassadours are said to have hung up their Shields in memory therof, and to have given a thousand gold crownes to the beautifying of the Church, at which time the King of Spaine divided twelve thousand gold crownes betweene the Ambassadours, besides the charges, passing three thousand crownes. But the Ambassadours of Solothurn with-drew themselves from this League, because the King of France was indebted to them, which debt the King of Spaine

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refused to pay. By this League they are mutually bound to aide each other with one thousand two hundred foote: and the King of Spaine promised yeerely Pensions in generall to the Cantons, and in particular to divers chiefe men and Captaines. For the Sweitzers use to make no League without profit, since the Neighbour Princes grew of opinion, that they could not make warre, except their Armies were strengthened with a firme body of Sweitzers. Not onely Solothurn renounced the said League, but also the Cantons of the reformed religion, partly not to do any thing against their League with France, partly lest they should take part with a King, whom they judged most ambitious, and a great enemy to the Reformed Religion, howsoever he covered that hatred; and partly lest they should advance the House of Austria, justly suspected by them, whose victories might turne to their ruine. And at the same time the Cantons and Fellowes in League, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Calvine, made a League for defence of religion among themselves, and with Strasburg, a neighbour free city of Germany, being of the Reformed Religion after the doctrine of Luther.

The Duke of Savoy had his Ambassadour residing at Lucerna, (where the Popes Ambassadours also reside, of whose Leagues for yeeres we formerly spake.) The old Allobroges, now called Savoyans, had old Leagues with the Cantons of Bern, Friburg, and Solothurn: but Charles Duke of Savoy in the yeere 1512, made a League for twenty five yeeres with all the Cantons, by which, among other things, it was covenanted, that the Duke should aide the Sweitzers with sixe hundred or more horse at his owne charge, so hee were not distracted with warres at home, and that the Sweitzers should aide the Duke with sixe thousand foot for any warre in his owne Countrie, to whom the Duke should pay each man sixe Frankes by the moneth. But hee should not imploy them to fight at sea, nor leade them beyond the sea, but onely to defend his owne Countrie, and the confines thereof. And

*The League of  
Savoy.*



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it was covenanted, that during this League the Duke should yeerely pay at Bern two hundred gold crownes to each Canton. When this League was expired, Duke Charles put out of his Dukedome by the French King Francis the first, followed the Emperour Charles the fifth, and the renewing of this League was intermitted. But the King of France restoring Philebert his sonne to the Dukedome, this Duke in the yeere 1560 made a new and perpetuall League with sixe Cantons, namely, Lucerna, Suitia, Uria, Undervaldia, Zug, and Solothurne. And after, the rest of the Cantons upon like conditions, renewed the old league with this Duke, onely in this last league no mention is made of mutuall aides covenanted by the former league.

[III. iv. 255.]

*The French  
league.*

The French Ambassadour resided at Solothurn, (who of old used to reside at Bazil) and the league of the French Kings with the Sweitzers, is of farre greater moment then any of the rest. The first of the French that made warre with the Sweitzers, was Lewis the French Kings sonne (after the eleventh King of that name) who leading an Army to assist Pope Eugenius in dissolving the Councell at Bazill, was perswaded by the Emperour Fredericke to assaile the Sweitzers, but a small number of them possessing straight passages, did so annoy his Army, as he soone retired. He made peace with the Sweitzers in the yeere 1450, and having tried their strength, made league with them for ten yeeres. His son Charles the eighth in the yeere 1483, renewed this league, and used the Sweitzers in his warres with the Duke of Britany, and for the Kingdome of Naples. Lewis the twelfth, after the league for yeers was expired, renounced the payment of all publike or private pensions, wherwith the Sweitzers were so greatly offended, as after they refused to renew that league with him, and joined in league with the Pope and the Duke of Milan against him, so as by their aide he was in the yeere 1512, cast out of the Dukedome of Milan. The French King Francis the first, fought with the Sweitzers, joined against him in league with the Emperour Maxi-

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milian, Pope Leo the tenth, and Sfortia Duke of Milan. For howsoever the Sweitzers suspected the proceeding of their confederates, and purposed to returne home, yet the Pretorian Sweitzers of the Duke of Milan, assailing the French, the rest of the Sweitzers, though called home, yet lest they should seeme to forsake their companions, joined with the Pretorian Sweitzers, and so by art and cunning drawne to fight, gave the French a notable overthrow, at which time the Sweitzers had the greatest Army they ever brought into the field, being 31000 foot: but the French King Francis, the next day fighting again with the Sweitzers, overthrew them, yet so as the retreat (as they write) was nothing like a flight: And so the King casting Sfortia out of the Dukedome of Milan, recovered the same.

After this prosperous successe, the French King sought nothing more then to be reconciled and joined in league with the Sweitzers hee had overcome, which hee did, the league consisting of 13 heads. 1. They covenanted for taking away all injuries & controversies. 2. For freeing of captives. 3. How the Sweitzers may plead any cause in judgement against the King. 4. That al should enjoy the benefit therof, being borne within the confines of Sweitzerland, & speaking the Dutch tongue. 5. Priviledges are confirmed to the Merchants of Sweitzerland. 6. For charges in the siege of Dyiune and in Italy, the King covenants to pay them a great sum of mony by yeerly portions. 7. It is agreed that all controversies shall be determined by courses there set downe, not by warre. 8. That neither part shall give passage to the enemies of the other. 9. That Merchants & all subjects on both parts, shall freely passe, not offended with reproches, or oppressed with impositions. 10. That the King shall yeerly pay to each Canton 2000 Franks, and to the Abbot of S. Gallus and his subjects, and to those of Toggenburg 600 Frankes, and to the City of S. Gallus 400, to the Mulhusians 400, to the Gruerians 600, to the Valesians 2000, and to the Grisons the pensions given by Lewis

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the 12: and moreover yeerly 2000 Franks (but howsoever the Rhetians or Grisons by this league serve the King in his warres with the Sweitzers: yet Semler witnesseth, that they serve severally under their owne Captaines). In the 11 Article all immunities in the Dukedome of Milan are confirmed to the Bilitionenses, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, the Luganenses, & the Locarnenses. 12. Choice is given to the Sweitzers to retaine the Castles they had, or to take mony for them. Lastly, it is agreed & covenanted, that the league shall be perpetuall, & not be broken upon any fraudulent pretence. In this League the King excepts all his confederates, & the Sweitzers except Pope Leo the 10, the Emperor Maximilian, the Empire, and the House of Austria; and all old leagues: so as if the King should make war upon any of these in their own countries, it may be free to the Sweitzers to observe their leagues with them, but if any of them assaile the King in his own Kingdome, the Sweitzers shal not permit any of their subjects to serve them, but shall call them home. [III.iv.256.] This League was made at Friburg, in the yeere 1516, the moneth of November, and upon the day of Saint Andrew.

And the King rested not, till after five yeeres since this Peace was made, he leagued himselfe more strictly at Lucerna with all the Cantons (that of Zurech only excepted) and with all their fellowes in league; of which league I will briefly relate some heads added to the former: namely, that if any man should make warre upon the King in France, or in the Dukedome of Milan, the King at his pleasure might leavy in Sweitzerland an Army of sixe thousand at the least, or sixteene thousand foote at the most (except the Senate should grant a greater number.) That the King might chuse the Captaines, and the Senate without delay should permit them to march within tenne dayes, and not recall them till the warre should bee ended, if the King shall please so long to use them. That by the same right, and under the same conditions, the King making warre upon any, may freely leavy souldiers, but with this caution, that the Sweitzers troubled with warre

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at home, should be free from these covenants. It was further cautioned, that the King should not divide the Army of the Sweitzers into divers places or Forts, but should keepe it united in one body. That he should not use it for any fight at Sea. That they should receive pay the same day they should march out of their country, and were they never so soone sent backe, yet three months pay, should be presently due unto them, and that the first moneths pay should be given them within the confines of Sweitzerland. That the King to aide the Sweitzers having any warre, should send them two hundred armed horse, and twelve great pieces of Ordinance with all furniture (namely, six battering pieces, and sixe middle pieces) and besides towards the charge of their warre, should each three moneths pay a certaine summe of mony at Lyons, and if the Sweitzers shall chuse rather to have mony in stead of the armed horse, the King should further pay them two thousand crownes each three moneths. That if in time of warre, the Sweitzers shall be forbidden to buy Salt in other places, they may buy and bring Salt out of France. That neither part shall make the subjects of the other free of their Cities, or receive them into patronage. That the King, to declare his good will towards the Sweitzers, shall besides the two thousand Franckes promised by the former League to each Canton, pay yeerely one thousand Franckes more to each of them during this League; and moreover shal besides the former Pensions, give to their Confederates yeerely halfe as much more. In this League the King excepts Pope Leo the tenth, the Emperour, the Kings of England, Scotland and Denmark, with other Princes; and the Sweitzers except the Pope, the Emperor, the House of Austria, the house of Medici, the D. of Savoy, and some others. But if these so excepted should make war upon either part, within their territories, that aides should be sent mutually without any respect. This League was made to last three yeeres after the death of the French King Francis the first, and was renewed by his son Henrie the second at Solo-



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thurn, in the yeere 1549, & by all the Cantons (excepting Zurech and Bern), and was after renewed by Charles the ninth, and the succeeding Kings. But in the leagues made with the successors of Francis the first, caution is inserted, that the Sweitzers shal not serve the King in any warre for the recovery of any part of the Dukedome of Milan: but if the King shall recover it with any other Army, then they shall aide him to defend his possession, as formerly.

[III. iv. 257.] And whereas the Cantons of Zurech and Bern refused to joyne in the Leagues made with Francis the first, and Henrie the second, these reasons thereof were then alleaged. First, because the Canton of Zurech was then alienated from the French by the Cardinall of Sedun. Secondly, because Zwinglius a notable Preacher of the Reformed Religion, did in many Sermons sharply inveigh against mercenary warfare. Thirdly, because this League much displeased the military men of Sweitzerland, in that the Senate had no liberty to looke into the cause of the warre; in that the Souldiers and Captaines were not to be chosen by the Sweitzers, but by the King at his pleasure; in that the large profits of the League redounded to few; in that the armed horse to bee sent by the King, were of no use to the Sweitzers warres, commonly made in mountainous places and craggy passages. Lastly, because it seemed a point of great inconstancy, that the Sweitzers, who lately when the French King Francis, and Charles the deceased Emperors grandchild, were competitors for the Empire, had written to the Electors, that they would yield no obedience to the French King, in case he were chosen, should so suddenly change their minds, and make a more strict league with the French: but the greater part was of a contrary judgement, because Souldiers were not bound curiously to enquire after the causes of warre, for which onely the King in his conscience was bound to give accompt. And because their barren Countrey being also populous, was most fit for a mercenary warre, and that military experience was thereby to be retained and gained;

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by which and like reasons, they perswaded the necessity of this league.

Thus have I (according to the description of Sembler) briefly shewed, that the Sweitzers Commonwealth consists of three parts at home, (not to speake of the forraigne leagues), namely of the Cantons, of the Fellowes in league; and of the stipendiary cities and prefectures or governments. Each community is vulgarly called Ort, and the Italians call them Cantons, whereof (I have said) that there be thirteene in number, namely, Suitia, (vulgarly Schweis, whereof the rest have the name of Sweitzers), Uria, Undervaldia, Lucerna, Tigurum, (vulgarly Zurech), Glarona, Tugium, (vulgarly Zug) Berna, Friburgum, Solodorum, (vulgarly Solothurn), Basilea (vulgarly Bazill), Scaphusium, (vulgarly Shafhusen), and Abbatiscella (vulgarly Apenzill). I have said that the Fellowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of Saint Gallus, the Rhetians or Grisons, the Bishop of Sedun, the Valesians, and the Townes Rotavile, Mulhusium, and Bipenne: And the governments are Turgea, that of Baden, of the Rhegusci, of the Sarunetes, of the free Province, the Lugani, the Locarnenses, the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, and the Biliationenses. That of Turgea is subject to the seven old Cantons, yet Bern, Friburg, and Solothurn, have also their rights in capitall causes. That of Baden, the Sarunetes, the Rhegusci, and the free Province, are subject likewise to the seven old Cantons, onely Bern hath beene admitted partner in that of Baden, and Apenzill in that of the Rhegusci. The foure Italian governments are equally subject to all the Cantons, excepting Apenzill: and the Biliationenses are subject to the three old Cantons. All these joined, have these Cities and Townes, Zurech, Bern, Lucern, Zug, Bazill, Friburg, Solothurn, Schafhusen, the Towne of S. Gallus, Chur of the Grisons, Sedun of the Valesians, Rotevil, Mulhuse, & Bipenne, all the rest dwell in Villages. Among the cantons, Bazill of the Rauraci, Schafhusen of Germany, Glarona in part of the Grisons, Uria in part of the Lepontii,

*Of the  
Sweitzers  
Common-  
wealth in  
generall.*

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are seated out of the old confines of Sweitzerland; and so are all the fellowes in league, excepting the Abbot, and Towne of S. Gallus, and the Towne Bipenne. Among these, the old Nation of the Rhetians, now called Grisons, were of old called Valesiani, Viberi, Seduni, and Veragri: And Rotevile is a city of Germany, and Mulhuse of the Sequavi in France. Among the governments, the Rhegusci and the Sarunetes, are of the old Rhetians, and the Luganenses, the Locarnenses, the Mendrisii, and the Inhabitants of the middle Valley, and the Bilitionii, are of the Lepontii, an Italian Nation, which tongue they speake. Many doubt to number these confederates among common-wealths, since each of them is no otherwise tied to the decrees of the other, then by free consent, as all private societies are, whereas in a common-wealth the greater part binds all: yet because they have one common councill, and most of the Provinces are ruled thereby, because warre and peace is made by common consent, and they live almost under the same lawes and customes, and are united strictly in perpetuall league, Sembler concludes, that this society comes nearest to the forme of a common-wealth: for whereas some hating the nation, object Anarchy to them, and say they got freedome by killing the Gentlemen; and others interpreting it more mildly, and confessing the oppression of the Gentlemen, yet judge the revenge to have exceeded all measure, the truth thereof will appeare by the History of Semler and others, shewing that great part of the Gentry was extinguished by the House of Austria. Therefore it must be a mixt commonwealth, (if such it may be called) being neither a Monarchy (of one just King) Aristocracy (of just great men) nor Democrity (a popular state) much lesse any of the corrupt commonwealths, called Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy, (that is, the tyranny of a King, or of noble men, or a confused State), the equity of the government shewing that it much differs from them. The Urii, Suitii, Undervaldii, the Glaronenses dwelling scattered, and Zug, (though it be a Towne), governe all

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with the consent of the people. Zurech, Bern, Lucern, Bazill, Friburg, Solothurn, and Schafhusen, are governed by the cheefe men; but since the Magistrates are chosen by the people, some of these Cities are more, some lesse Aristocraticall, or popular. The Ambassadors sent to publike meetings have Aristocraticall forme, but since they are chosen by the people with limited power, it may seeme popular: And it is not unequall that the people having setled freedome with their danger, should be partners of their government: but in the meane time the Sweitzers avoide as much as they can, the discomfortities of a popular State, while none but the best and most wise are sent to the meetings, and howsoever their power is limited, yet when they returne, they so relate all things to the people, as they easily understand them, and give consent thereunto.

But to make the strict union of these confederates more apparant, it will not be amisse to peruse some of the heads of the league between the eight old Cantons. Therin first is cautioned, of sending mutuall aides, so as first in publike counsell the justnes of the warre may be examined. Then the aides are not to be required of all, but of each particular Canton, according to their mutuall leagues. Zurech by old league hath right to require aides of the first six Cantons, and by a new league also of Bern. And Bern requires aide of the three first Cantons, and they of Bern. Lucerna requires aide of five Cantons. The three first Cantons require mutuall aides of one another, and of all the rest. Zug and Lucerna are bound to aide the five Cantons. Glarona requires aide of the three old cantons, and Zurech. Thus while one Canton calls the next joined to it in league, howsoever each one cannot require aid of all or each one by right of league, yet in any common danger, all the Cantons bring their forces, being called of some one or more Cantons in league with them: besides, that they have wisely decreed, that in sudden dangers, all shall bring succours, whether they be called or no. They which are called to give aide by vertue of any league, serve



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at their owne cost, without any pay. Between Bern and the three old Cantons it is decreed, that if the aides be sent beyond certaine bounds, then they which called them shall give them pay, and in like sort certaine bounds of sending aides are limited between all the rest of the Cantons, in their severall leagues, with all conditions expressed. In any siege, the Canton which causeth it, is bound to find many necessities, but if the cause be publike, all provisions are made at the publike charge. The foure old cantons and Glarona, cannot make any new league, which is free to the rest, alwayes preserving the old league, which they also may encrease or diminish by common consent. It is decreed, that every five or ten yeeres, this league shall be renewed by word or writing, or (if need be) by oath. Zurech, Bern, Uria, Suitia, and Undervaldia, in this league except the rights of the Roman Empire. Lucerna and Zug the rights of the Dukes of Austria, Glarona the rights of their lawfull Magistrates, and each Canton the rights of old leagues.

When the said eight Cantons received the other five into their number, besides the foresaid heads, it was decreed among other things in their league, that the five last cantons howsoever wronged, should make no warre without the consent of the eight old Cantons, and in like sort that they should make no league without their consent, neither in time of warre should refuse good conditions of peace. And lastly it was decreed, that without great cause, no warre should be made in places out of the mountaines and difficult passages of that Province, where they could not fight with advantage.

The thirteene Cantons have that priviledge, that they deliberate and determine the affaires of the commonwealth in publike meetings, by voices, and governe by equall right the governments gotten jointly by them, and have equal part in all booties. The greatest Senate is when all the Ambassadors (that is, chosen Burgesses of the cantons, and Fellowes in league) are called together, which is seldom done, but in the causes of making warre

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or peace, onely the Ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons being commonly called to counsell: Al Ambassadors have equal right in giving voices, but two or more being sent from one Canton, have but one voice. In causes concerning the governments belonging to seven or eight or 12 Cantons, onely the Ambassadors (or Burgesses, or States) of those Cantons meet, to whom the government belongs, and so the Burgesses of all other severally for things belonging to themselves: but where the cause concerns the publike State, the full Senate of all the Cantons is called to the meeting. Since the late differences of Religion, new and particular meetings have beene instituted. The Cantons of the Roman Religion, Uria, Suitia, Undervaldia, Lucerna, and Zug, joined in a more strict league; doe often meete together, & when any man names the five Cantons simply, they meane them, not the five old cantons, howsoever naming the three, seven, or eight Cantons, they are taken according to the time of their entring into league. And sometimes the Cantons of Friburg and Solothurn, being also of the Roman Religion, come to the meetings of the said five Cantons: Greatest part of the Citizens of Glarona and Apenzill, are of the reformed Religion, and the foure Cities chiefe of the Cantons, namely Zurech, Bern, Bazill, & Schafhusen, have altogether cast off the Roman Religion, & have particular meetings, but not often: yet when I passed through this Province, I understood that Glarona was altogether of the reformed Religion, and that Apenzill was numbred among the Cantons of the Roman Religion. The great Senate determines of warre, peace, & leagues, (each having freedom to refuse any league), likewise of making Lawes, of sending, receiving, & answering Ambassadors, of governments, of distributing gainefull Offices, of difficult causes referred to the Senate by Governors, & of appeales made from Governours to the Senate. Ambassadors (or Burgesses in place of Judges) are sent about the moneth of June, to heare the causes of

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the Italian governments, from whom they may appeale to the Senate, and these appeales (as all other) are determined by the Senate in the meetings at Baden, where also they deliberate of customes & impositions, & the revenues, and if need be of punishing the Governours, or displacing them, (in which case the Canton which sent that Governour, appoints another.) The City Zurech chiefe of the Cantons, hath the first place, not by antiquity, but dignity, and of old custome hath the highest authority to call the Senate together, signifying to each canton by letters the cause & the time of each meeting: yet if any canton thinke it for the publike good, to have an extraordinary meeting, they write to Zurech to appoint the same, or if the cause admit no delay, they meet uncalled. Most commonly the generall meetings are at Lucern, Zurech, Bremogart, and Baden; but more commonly in these daies & almost continually they are at Baden, in respect of the commodity of the houses and Innes, the pleasant situation & famous medicinall Baths; and because it is seated in the center of Sweitzerland, and is subject to the 8 old cantons. The cantons of the Roman religion, commonly have their particular meetings at Lucerna, sometimes at Bockenried of the Urii, or Brane of the Suitii, & are called together by the canton of Lucern: and the cantons of the reformed religion have their particular meetings commonly at Arowike under Bern, sometimes at Bazil, & are called together by the canton of Zurech. Forrain Ambassadors require of Zurech to have audience in the Senate: but the peculiar meetings for French causes are called by the French Ambassador as often as he wil at Solothurn where he resideth, or at Lucern: & other Ambassadors shold not be denied extraordinary meetings, so they pay the expences, as the French Ambassador doth. The ful Senate yeerly meets about September at Baden, about which time I said that Burgesses in place of Judges are sent to heare the causes of the Italian governments: And in this first meeting, the greatest causes are not determined, either

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because the ~~Government~~ of ~~Basel~~ is not full power, or the other ~~part~~ in another ~~thing~~ is there appointed, and ~~wherever~~ the ~~same~~ is called for ~~particular~~ ~~names~~ or ~~that~~ ~~may~~ ~~call~~ ~~for~~ or to hear ~~particular~~ ~~names~~ and ~~wherever~~ is the ~~same~~ Burgesses or ~~names~~ of the ~~Government~~ or ~~names~~ of the ~~same~~ the Burgesses of Zurich and the ~~Government~~ of ~~Basel~~ to salute them, it is ~~known~~ ~~that~~ with the ~~view~~ of ~~that~~ ing. Thus they are known in the ~~same~~ and the Burgesses of Zurich is a place ~~that~~ ~~more~~ ~~than~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ : ~~That~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ in antiquity, but is ~~known~~ ~~that~~ ~~after~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ to the antiquity of their Cantons. The Burgesses of Zurich first ~~came~~ ~~in~~ ~~Basel~~, and ~~thereupon~~ the ~~same~~ upon which they are in constant ~~that~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ hath commanded that in each ~~particular~~ and that the ~~same~~ speake in order, according to the ~~directions~~ ~~given~~ ~~them~~ at home. The ~~same~~ ~~Government~~ of ~~Basel~~, of ~~what~~ Canton soever be the ~~same~~ and ~~numbers~~ the ~~same~~. The peculiar meetings of particular Cantons, and those for French affairs, save as we ~~shall~~.

Each Canton hath ~~particular~~ ~~Magistrates~~ ~~vulgarly~~ called Umbgelten, who ~~administer~~ the ~~impositions~~ upon wine and corne, and gather them in their ~~deputies~~. They pay tribute only for that wine which is sold in ~~Taverns~~, and for that corne which is exported or used by Bakers, for otherwise the Citizens pay ~~not~~ for wine and corne brought into their private houses, and spent therein. And I have observed that they pay in some places the value of 24 measures tribute, for a vessel of wine containing ninety six measures: The salt which is brought in, is onely sold by the Senate of each Citie or Canton: and I understood by discourse, that the Citizens may not buy salt, or take it of gift out of the Citie. Particularly at Schaffhusen the Customes are great, especially for salt, in respect that the water of the Rheine hath a great fall from a rocke, so as all ships must be unladed before they can passe by that Citie. In generall, the Sweitzers especially want wine, corne, and



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salt, as may appeare by the covenants of their forraigne leagues, and otherwise the tributes are small, which can bee imposed upon such a free Nation.

*The Lawes.*

Concerning their Lawes, I have formerly said that the severall Cantons are not bound one to the decrees of the other, except they freely consent thereunto; yet that they all have one Common Counsell, and almost all have the same common Lawes and customes, which they inviolably keepe. They long suffered the Governours of the Empire to bee over them in capitall causes, though with prejudice to their freedome, till at last in the Suevian warre, about the yeere 1499, the judgement of capitall causes was granted to them by the Emperour, among the conditions of peace. Whereupon the ten oldest Cantons who made this warre, have equal right of capitall judgement in the stipendary Cities and governments, with the Cantons to whom they are subject, though gotten before they entred into the common league, howsoever they have no right in the Civill causes, nor any other commaund over them. In the old leagues, besides the Articles concerning union, many Lawes for the publike good are contained and established. Such is that of the old league between the eight first Cantons, wherein they set downe cautions for peaceable determining of publike controversies, betwene the Cantons, and therby, two Cantons being at strife, are to chuse two honest men, who give their othes, to make an equall composition between them, and the rest of the Cantons are to adde one Arbiter to them; and in case one of the Cantons consenteth, the other refuseth to stand to their judgement, all the rest are to helpe the Canton consenting thereunto. And in the league of the five last Cantons, as in al other, they justly give curious cautions for taking away all controversies, and espetially labour to effect, that they breake not out into Civill war, in which case they should be diversly distracted, according to their divers combinations and leagues among themselves. Therefore of old, when the Abbot of Saint Gallus attempted to remove the teade of

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clothing, and the holy reliques (the superstitious worship whereof brought great profit) from Apenzill, to Rosake (where the Abbot had absolute commaund) and this matter drew them to Armes, wherein the Abbot called the foure Cantons his confederates, and Apenzill the six Cantons with whome it had league, to give them aide, according to their mutuall leagues, the saide Cantons thus called to aide both parts, earnestly endeavored to make peace, wherby they preserved the common-welth. For if they should not alwaies carefully so doe in like occasions, many times the dissention of one or two Cantons, might draw all the rest into a pernicious Civill warre. In the foresaid league betweene the eight oldest Cantons, and in the Stantian Transaction in the yeere 1481 Lawes were established. That he who killed any confederate (vulgarly called Eidgenossen, that is injoiers of the oath) should be beheaded, except he had sufficient witnesses that he did it to save his life, and in case of flight, he being banished by one Canton, should also be banished by all the rest, and that he should be judged guilty of the crime, who should helpe him; and that sentence should be given [III.iv.261] upon him in the Canton where the Crime was committed. That there should be no generall meetings of the people without consent of the Magistrate. That none of the Cantons should support any disobedient subject of another Canton, but should force them to obedience. That a lay person shall not use the helpe of an Ecclesiasticall Judge, but in causes of matrimony and manifest usury, which are referred to Ecclesiasticall judgement. That pledges or gages be not taken at private mens pleasures, but with consent of the Judge. That causes be judged in the Canton, wherein the act was done, and sentence be given without fraud or deceit, and that every man bee content and rest satisfied in the Judgements Lawes and customes of another Canton. That all booties in warre be divided among the Cantons, according to the number of Souldiers which each of them sent, but that Townes, Tributes, and like things gained by warre, shal be under the common command of

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all the Cantons, of which commodities, the subjects of stipendary Cities and fellowes in league, shall have no part, though their Forces bee joined in the same warre with Forces of the Cantons, howsoever they are to have part in the devision of all other booties.

In like sort the league of Schafhusen with the Cantons of the Sweitzers, determineth how debts are to be recovered, and what law is to be used in such suites, and that no leagues be made by one without the privity and against the will of the rest, and that the oldest leagues be ever most respected.

The Common-wealth is administred with great equity, yet with no lesse severity of Justice, then the Germans use: And howsoever all the Country lies within mountaines & woods, yet the high way for passengers is no where more safe from theeves, so as it is there proverbially said, that you may carry gold in the palmes of your hands: For all crimes are severely punished without all respect of persons. The scope and but whereat all their leagues aime, is that every man may peaceably enjoy his owne, and that the best men among them, may in publike counsell examine the causes of warre, that they be just and lawfull, to the end they may never rashly make warre upon any: And because the common people being burthened with debt, is more prone to seditions, curious orders are set downe in their leagues, for the manner of exacting debts, and taking pledges, neither giving liberty of oppression to the creditors, nor permitting fraud to the debtors.

*Duells.* Also because military men, and such as drinke in excesse, are prone to brawling and blowes, most heavy penalties are thereby inflicted upon such as are Authours of injuries, and the leagues make not more frequent mention of any other thing, then of reproaches, for which they prescribe such good remedies and reall satisfactions, not passing over the least injury of the poorest man, as among the very Souldiers, yea, halfe drunken, there very seldome hapeneth any murther: Wherein I could wish that our inferiour Magistrates would apply themselves,

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and our Lawes were accommodated to the Sweitzers governement. For the English being most impatient of reproches, and the law giving ridiculous satisfactions for injuries by word, and all wrongs, excepting maimes, it hath beene accounted a disgracefull course to seeke remedy that way, and most injuries have commonly beene revenged by the Sword in single combat: But in Sweitzerland all standers by are bound to keepe the peace, and compose the strife, and if they who strive, being remembered of the Lawes, doe not obey, they use to punish them most severely; and if any kill another, he is sure to be beheaded, except he escape by flight, (in which case he shall be banished by his owne and all other Cantons) or except he can prove by witnes that he killed him in defence of himselfe.

And such is the fame of the Sweitzers sincere Justice, *Judgements.* as many strangers their neighbours, desire to have their controversies ended after the manner of the Sweitzers, and by them: When causes are to be pleaded before the Senate, most men pleade their owne cause, some use Lawyers, brought by them from home, or found there by chance, and the causes are not determined after the civill, but after the provinciall law, or according to that which seemes good and equall, and by the statutes and customes of each Canton. They have no quirkes or obscurities to protract judgement, and they thinke it better sometimes to erre in a doubtfull cause, then to follow the Lawyers, judging according to Law, not equity, and so making the suites perpetuall. [III. iv. 26.] In the Governements, all controversies are determined by the Governours and Judges of the place, yet so, as appeale is granted from them to the common Senate. In private Cantons, causes are judged by the Senatours and Judges of each Canton, yet they have some publike Judgements, namely, when the Cantons have any controversie one with another, or a private man with a Canton, for which cases they have many cautions in their Leagues; and at this day they are determined after this manner. Each part chuseth two Judges of his owne



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Citizens, who are absolved in that case from their oath given to their owne Canton, and then they are sworne, that they will consider of the controversie, according to that which seemes good and equall, and that they will faithfully indeavour to compose it, at least so as it shall bee decided by Law, not by Armes. And in the old leagues certaine places are appointed, in which these Judgements are handled. The 7 Cantons commonly meete for them in the Monastery of the Heremites within their owne confines, and so other leagues in other appointed places. The Judges and Burgesses of those Cantons, with which those that have controversies have more strict league, determine these causes, if the first arbiters cannot compose them, and both parts are bound to rest in the judgement of the greater part; and if the Voices be equall on each part, as many times it falleth out, a new Judge or Arbiter is chosen, who doth not give a new Judgement of his owne, but approveth one of the Judgements given by the equall Voices of the said Burgesses. And this Arbiter is chosen by those Burgesses, and so he be a Citizen of any one Canton, it is not required, that he should be of either of the Cantons, to whom the cause belongeth. Thus if Bern be plaintiffe against the 3 Cantons, 16 men are chosen by the Cantons, out of which Bern chuseth one to be Arbiter: but if the Cantons be plaintiffes against Bern, they chuse an Arbiter out of the lesser Senate of Bern. Likewise in controversies betweene Zurech, and Bern, the plaintiffe chuseth an Arbiter out of the Senate of the other Citie. To conclude, in all Judgements publike and private, they use such integrity, as this simplicitie of their Judgements, disallowed by subtile politicians, happily succeeds in all occasions, and so they retaine their old vertue, is like ever so to succede. In most of the Cantons, namely, at Zurech, Basil, and Schafhusen, no Bastard may beare publike office, nor be a Senator, or Judge, which Law is common to the Sweitzers with the Germans, first instituted to restraine fornication, and to preserve the dignity of marriage. In some places, he

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must have been a Citizen ten yeres, in other places twenty yeres, who is chosen to be of the common Counsell; and at Zurech no stranger is ever chosen to be a Senator or Judge; and by Common law, no Homicide, Adulterer or infamous person for any crime, may be of the Senate.

In all the Cantons, they are no lesse carefull to prevent damages by fier, then to keepe out their enemies; for which cause they hire watchmen to walke the streetes by night, and Belmen to tell the howers, and in some places, as the Towne of Saint Gallus, they have nightly thirty two Watchmen, and chuse Citizens to visit the chimnies and ovens, that they be free from danger of fier. In other Cantons they have publike Officers, who in any such chance, see that all things be done in order, and that no tumult be raised upon such occasions, to which end they appoint some to quench the fier, and draw others in armes to defend the walles and the gates. And at Zurech able young men are yeerely chosen, to be ready for the quenching of any such casuall fier.

In Lucerna the Law of Retribution (an arme for an arme, a leg for a leg) is in many cases observed, where he that killes a Citizen, bee the cause never so just, as repelling force by force, shal die if he be taken, or be perpetually banished, if he escape by flight, yet when he hath satisfied the Kinsmen of him hee killed, hee is permitted to returne from banishment. And in all the Cantons where they dwell in Villages, he that kills a man in his defence, shal be banished, and his owne Senate cannot permit his returne, which can onely be obtained from the great and publike Senate. And in the same Cantons, no lands may be ingaged to any stranger, neither may any stranger buy any possessions, but onely a house and a Garden for herbes. [III.iv.263.]

And if any man often offend in Drunkennes, he is imprisoned, and may drink no Wine for a yere, till he have procured pardon of the publike Senate (which me thinks should easily be granted him, by Judges guilty of the same fault, except they meane quarrels and like offences,

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not simple drinking, which I thinke probable, because generally the Sweitzers drinke as stiffely, as those of the upper part of Germany.

In the same Cantons, Matrimoniall causes are referred to the Consistory of the Bishop of Costnetz: but all adulteries are punished by the Senate at home, commonly with the losse of goods, sometimes with a fine of ten pounds, that is ten Dollers with them.

The publike Edicts are yeerely in these Cantons confirmed or abrogated by the Voices of the common people. And in the Towne of Friburg and the Territory, if a debter pay not his debt, the Creditor sends certaine servants and horses to the publike Inne, the charge whereof is paid by the debter, till he satisfie his Creditor. Besides in any controversie, if sureties be thrise demanded of any man, and he bring not in surety (or caution), he is punished with banishment, and the same punishment is inflicted on them, who violate the command of keeping the peace, and who without just cause take part with either of them that are at variance. In generall, for the Gentry of the whole Province, mention hath been, and is after to be made, that the same is extinguished, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Knightly order among these men, who howsoever they be military men, yet universally are Cittizens, or of common Plebeian ranck. They take to themselves coates of Armes devised by themselves, and tricked after their owne fancies, yet not with open Helmets, as Gentlemen beare them, but with closed Helmets, after the manner used by the Citizens in Germany. And their Lawes of inheritance and the dowries of wives, doe come neerest to those of Germany, the Civill law, (if I be not deceived) passing with them into Provinciaall lawes and customes (by which they are governed) upon the old and long continued use of them. In one particular example I observed, that the younger brother, in the division of his fathers inheritance, first chose his part, and had libertie to buy the parts of his brethren if he would, and not otherwise. But I shall have

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occasion to speake of the common lawes more at large in the discourse of the severall Common-wealths among them.

The leagues which the Sweitzers have with forraine Princes, doe manifestly shew that they professe Mercenary Armes, no lesse, yea much more, then the Germans: For whereas the Germans are hired for present service in time of warre, these men besides that pay, must have ample pensions in time of peace, as their league with France especially sheweth. In this they differ, that the Sweitzers onely send aides of foote, but the Germans are hired both horse and foote. And both these Nations have one commendable property, that after their service one or more yeeres in the warres, peace being made, they returne home nothing corrupted with military licentiousnesse, and roundly fall to the Plough, or any other their trade of life. By the same leagues it appeares, that they will not serve in any sea-fights, nor in the defence or taking of forts, neither will have their forces divided, as if they reputed the strong bodies of their bands only fit to fight in a pitched field, and to defend the great Ordinance and carriage. Neither use they to fortifie their owne Cities (excepting few which of old were fortified, and after received into the number of the Cantons), bragging with the Lacedemonians, that valiant brests are brazen walles. In the time of Julius Cæsar, we reade, that this Nation being populous, and weary of the barren soile wherein they dwelt, resolved to seeke a new seate: but were soone restrained and kept at home by the Armes of Cæsar. From that time wee reade of no great warlike exploit done by them, till they laid the first foundation of their Commonwealth by mutuall leagues. The first perpetuall league made betweene the three first Cantons, was in the yeere 1315 from which time the rest of the Sweitzers, having long been subject to the house of Austria, began by parts to rebell against that house, and to winne their liberty by the sword. But all their warre was at home, long continued against the said house, and at last breaking [III.iv.264.]

*Their  
Warfare.*



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out against the Duke of Burgundy upon their confines, till the year 1477, when in the third battaile the Duke of Burgundy was slaine, and so that warre ended. At which time only eight Cantons were united in perpetuall league, the other five Cantons being after united at severall times, from the yeere 1481 to the yeere 1513, when the 13 and last Canton was united to the rest in perpetuall league.

Touching their forraigne warres, the first league they made for yeeres, was in the yeere 1478, and the second in the yeere 1510, with two Popes. The first perpetuall forraigne league they made, was with the Duke of Milan, in the yeere 1466; wherein mention is made of former leagues with the Insubres; but we reade no effects of warre produced by them. And the first perpetuall league they had with France was in the yeere 1483, when Charles the eight made warre in Italy for the kingdome of Naples, about which time the Sweitzers Armes began to be knowne in forraigne parts. Guicciardine the famous writer of those Italian warres, among the Actions of the yeere 1500, saith, that the Sweitzers hired by Lodwick Sforza Duke of Milan, fought wel on his side at the taking of Novara; but after, that their Captaines were corrupted to betray him, by the Captaines of other Sweitzers serving the French king, whereupon they provoked the multitude to Mutiny for pay; but the Duke appeasing them by loving words, by present pay in good part, and promise of the rest upon the coming of mony from Milan dayly expected; that the Captaines of the Dukes Sweitzers conspired with the Sweitzers of the French king, to make the French presently draw to Novara, which done, the Duke prepared to fight, but the Captains of his Sweitzers answered him, that without speciall authority from their Magistrates, they would not fight against their Kinsmen and Countymen on the French side, and that so the Sweitzers serving the Duke, upon their Captaines instigation, mingled themselves with the Sweitzers on the French side, as if they had been both of one Army, saying they would depart home. And that the Duke could with no

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praiers nor promises move their barbarous treachery, to stand with him in this distresse, nor so much as to conduct him to a safe place, onely granting him to march in their bands on foote disguised like a Sweitzer, in which disguise taken of force, he with some of his chiefe friends were taken by the French, moving compassion of all men towards him, and detestation of their treachery. And this Author leaves it in doubt, whether they were found out in this disguise by the French spies, or rather vilely betrayed. Semler a famous writer of the Sweitzers Nation, thinks that souldiers in generall might be excused, who being in a towne unfortified, and having other just causes (as disability to withstand the Enemy) should make peace and returne home, but granting this fact to be unexcusable; yet whether it were done by the Captaines, or by the common souldiers, or by both, and that on both sides, hee thinks it a great wrong to impute the same to the whole nation, especially those Soldiers being levied secretly, and without leave of the Magistrates.

The foresaid Author Guicciardine in the Actions of the yeere 1511, writes of the Sweitzers to this effect; The Sweitzers of old called Helvetians, inhabit the high places of the Mountaine Jura, men fierce by nature, clownes, and by reason of the barren soile, rather Grasiers then Ploughmen. Of old they were subject to the Princes of Austria, but casting off their yoke, have long been free, living after their owne Lawes, and yeelding no signe of obedience to the Emperours or any other Princes, divided into thirteen Cantons, wherof each is governed by their owne Magistrates, Lawes & customes. The name of this so wilde and uncivill Nation, hath gotten honour by concord and the glory of Armes. For being fierce by nature, and trained in warlike discipline, and keeping their Orders (or ranks) they have not only with valour defended their Country, but in forraine parts have exercised Armes with high praise, which no doubt had beene greater, if they had fought to enlarge their owne Empire, & not for wages to enlarge the Empire of others; & if nobly they had pro-

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[III.iv.265.]

pounded to themselves other ends then the gaine of mony, by the love wherof being made abject, they have lost the occasion to become fearefull to all Italy: for since they never come out of their confines, but as mercenary men, they have had no publike fruit of their victory but by covetousnesse have become intollerable in exactions where they overcome, and in demands with other men; yea, at home froward and obstinat in traffick, and in following their Commands, under whose pay they serve in war. Their chiefe men have pensions of Princes to favour them in their publike meetings, and so publike Counsels being referred to private profit, they are apt to be corrupted, and by degrees fall at discord among themselves, with great lessning of the reputation they had gotten among strangers. He addes, that the Sweitzers, at the Popes instigation, armed against the French in Milan, as if it were onely the act of Suitia and Friburg, who pretended offence against the French, for a messenger of theirs killed by them. And that the French King for sparing a small addition to their Pensions, neglected to reconcile himselfe to them, and so lost their friendship, which after hee would have redeemed with great treasure, hoping that either they would not arme against him, or if they did, that having no horse nor artillery, they could do him small hurt.

The same Guicciardine in the actions of the yere 1513 witnesseth, that the Sweitzers had then gotten great reputation by the terrour of their Armes, and that it seemed then, that their States or Burgesses, and souldiers, began to carry themselves no more as grasers or mercenary men, but as Senatours and subjects of a well ordered Common-wealth, and that they now swaied all affaires, almost al Christian Princes having their Ambassadors with them, by pensions and great rewards seeking to have league with them, and to be served by them in their warres. But that hereupon they grew proud, and remembering that by their Armes the French King Charles the eighth had got the Kingdome of Naples, and Lewis the twelfth the Dukedome of Milan, with the City and State

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of Genoa, and victorie against the Venetians, they began to proceede insolently in the affaires with Princes; that the French King Francis the first then wooed them, and to have audience, gave them the Forts of Lugana and of Lugarna (with such indignitie did Princes then seeke their friendship.) Yet that hee could not obtaine his demaunds, but that they rather chose, upon ample conditions of profit, to assist the Duke of Milan.

Also in the actions of the yeere 1516, when the Emperour joyned with other Princes in League against the King of France, he writes, that the Sweitzers, according to their Leagues, served both on the Emperours, and the French Kings side. And that the Emperour knowing the hatred that Nation bore to the House of Austria, feared lest the Sweitzers on his owne part, should serve him, as they served the Duke of Milan at Novara, thinking it more probable, in that he wanted money to content them, whereof the French King had plenty. And that hee feared this the more, because their generall Captaine had with much insolency demanded pay for them. And that hereupon the Emperour retired with his Army, the Sweitzers not following him, but staying at Lodi, which after they sacked, and so returned home. Of the other side hee writes, that onely some few of the Sweitzers were at first come to the French Party, who professed to bee ready to defend Milan, but that they would in no wise fight against their COUNTRYMEN on the other side. That the French complained of the slow comming of the rest, and at first doubted lest they should not come, and when they came, feared no lesse, lest they should conspire with their COUNTRYMEN serving the Emperour, or lest upon pretence of their Magistrates command, they should suddenly leave them and returne home. That the French justly complained thus of their slow comming, purposely used to be affected by them, and continued to doubt of their faith, especially because they had alwaies said, that they would not fight with their COUNTRYMEN, and to feare as before, lest the Cantons



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should recall their men from serving the French, which feare after increased, when they saw two thousand of them already returned home, and doubted that the rest would follow.

[III. iv. 266.] Also in the actions of the yeere 1526, he writes, that the French King made request to have a great leavy of Sweitzers, hoping they would readily serve him, the rather to blot out their ignominy in the battell of Pavia: but that this Nation which not long before by their fierce nature had opportunity much to increase their State, had now no more either desire of glory, or care of the Common-wealth, but with incredible covetousnesse, made it their last end to returne home laded with money, managing the warre like Merchants, and using the necessitie of Princes to their profit, like mercenary corrupt men doing all things to that end in their publike meetings. And that the private Captaines, according to the necessity of Princes, stood upon high termes, making most impudent and intollerable demaunds. That the French King requiring aides of them, according to his league, they after their accustomed manner made long consultations, and in the ende answered, that they would send no aides, except the King first paid them all pensions due in areare, being a great summe, and not suddenly to bee provided, which their delay was very hurtfull to the King, making his Army long time lie idle.

By the premises we may gather, that the Sweitzers Armes were first made knowne to forraine parts about the yere 1483; that they increased in reputation to the yere 1513, when they attained to the height of their glory, which fel in few yeres, by the foresaid jealousies, and covetous practises. And no marvell; for their leagues and levies are made with huge expences. Their Bands are great consumers of victuals, and wasters of the Countries they passe. They make frequent and great mutinies for pay. They have league with the Emperour, as possessing the Arch-Dukedome of Austria; with the Kings of Spaine as Arch-Dukes of Austria by title, as

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es to the Duke of Burgundy, and Conquerors of the  
sedome of Milan, and with the Kings of France upon  
le Pensions. Now all the warres of those times  
ng been managed by these Princes, and the Sweitzers  
ague serving on all sides, since they will not fight  
nst their Countrimen, small trust can be placed in  
r auxiliary Bands. If any man speake of the King of  
land, he did not in those times leade any army into  
continent, but associated with one of the Kings of  
ne or France, or with the Emperour, in which case the  
itzers served upon the same condition on both sides.  
if any of their confederates should make warre with  
King of England at home, they shall have no use of  
itzers, who condition in their leagues not to bee sent  
nd the Seaes, nor to be imploied in Navall fights. If  
man speake of the warres in Netherland, the Sweitzers  
be found no lesse unprofitable to their confederates,  
e wars consisting in taking and defending strong places,  
the Sweitzers covenanting in their leagues, not to have  
r bodies divided, nor to serve in that kind. And in  
h since all the rage of late warres commonly lies in  
nding and assailing Forts, and set battels are rarely  
ght, it may seeme strange they should thus divide  
nselves from the common dangers of the Armies in  
h they serve. And all these things considered, I find  
what use their confederates can make of them, but only  
vill warres against their owne subjects, with whom the  
itzers have no league. For the rest, as we reade of  
e Indians, who light one candle to the Divell, lest hee  
ld hurt them, and another to God that he may doe  
a good; so I thinke Princes still intertaine their  
nsive leagues, rather lest their enemies should be  
ngthened by their entire aides, then for any profit  
selves can reape thereby.

he Sweitzers have no horse, which are of no use in  
Mountaines and craggie places of their Country: but  
u they make their owne warre out of their owne  
ines, their confederates are by league bound to supply

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them therewith; and if the warre be not their owne, their confederates only expect auxiliary Bands of foot from them. The Roman Boterus writes, that in his judgement the Sweitzers can make six score thousand foote for the defence of their owne Country. No doubt that Nation is very populous: but the greatest Army we ever reade them to have carried out of Switzerland, was that of thirty one thousand, when they joyned with the Pope Leo the tenth, the Emperour Maximilian, and Sforza Duke of Milan, being confederates against the King of France. Nature and necessity have framed them to the warre; for a Mountainous Region, and Woody (as of old it was, being stil somewhat barren and labourous to the Husbandman) breedes a rude people, patient of hardnesse, and of warlike disposition, and as taller trees and larger cattle, so stronger bodies of men, so as they seeme to be borne souldiers. Necessity likewise forced them to Armes, when the Gentlemen and Princes oppressed them, and they had no meanes of liberty, but Armes, wherein long use hath made them expert. And their very lawes and customes are fitted to the warres. All Citizens and Plebeians use and are commanded continually to weare their swords. All their severall exercises have a reference to the war, as shooting with muskets at Butts (which they practise for wagers both in Cities and Villages), leaping, casting of stones, wrastling, fencing, swimming, continuall hunting, wherein they pursue Beares, wild Boares, and Linces (a kind of Wolfe), the shooting of the boyes in bowes, the use of Drumes in stead of musick, even at feasts of marriages, where the Bridegroom is thought most honoured, who is met by his friends with most shot and Pikes. All private men are bound to have their Armes fit for war, and therewith are commonly armed, though many times the worst furnished are supplied out of the Armories of the Cities. Their kinds of Armes are muskets, calivers, ashen pikes 18 foote long, halberds, long two-handed swords (which they carry on their shoulders, and with them they defeated the Burgundians comming to

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hand strokes with them), and another long sword girt to their side, with a dagger very heavy, the haftes of silver or gilded, and armor of solid steele for brest and backe: but the poorer sort have only helmets of iron, and thick leather pelts in stead of armor; and some in stead of armor, weare coats of quilted taffety, wrought with aglet-holes. They who will appeare braver then the rest, carry feathers, white, or of some other colour, commonly neere the colour of their owne Banner. Each weare a right cornerd crosse upon his Armes, which is the military badge of the Sweitzers. All follow the Colors and Banners of their owne Canton, & use drums, trumpets and bagpipes, & a man can hardly distinguish betweene the beating of the drums of the Sweitzers, and Germans, save that the former march is more grave and slow, and not so tumultuous as that of the Germans. The Urii blow a horne of a wild Hart, which they call the Bul. The Undervaldii have the like, but those of Lucerna use a horne of brasse. No man that can weare Armes, is excused from warre at home, and no doubt their foot are of great force to fight within their mountaines, and keepe themselves from tyranny of strangers, howsoever they have not so much strength, when with the snaile they come out of their house. Men chosen in peace are trained for the warres, but in forraigne expeditions one man chuseth another, that being acquainted and friends, they may sticke closer together, and when they are to march, the Law commands them to lay aside all private quarrels, so as they may more truly be called brothers, then the Landtznechts or foot of Germany, who calling themselves brothers, yet bring home more wounds and scarres from their private quarrels, then from the Enemy. It is a capitall crime with the Sweitzers, to fall to the spoile, before the Enemy be fully overcome. The publike spoile, as Artillery, Castles, Countries, and tributes, or any revenues, belong equally to all the Cantons, though some of them set forth five times more men then others, yet extraordinarie rewards are given to the best deserving Cantons and private men. They justly give all



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protection to those that bring victuals to the Campe. They have an old Law alwaies to spare holy places, and the sex of women, excepting such women as give weapons to their Enemy, or by casting downe stones, and like helps, doe hurt unto their Army. They boast that their fouresquared body of foote, is the best forme of battel to resist horsemen, & that thereby they having no horse, did overthrow the French horse at Novaria; and when for want of artillery, and by the great number of the French, they were beaten by them at Marignano, yet that they retired in a close body & good array to Milan, so as they could not be justly said to flie.

*Particular  
Common-  
wealths.  
13 Cantons in  
three formes,*

It remaines to speak somthing, but briefly of the government of the particular Cantons, because they have absolut power within themselves. Among them such as have no townes, but dwel in villages, cal the heads of their Counsels Ammans, & the chiefe power is in the common people. Such are Urania, Suitia, Undervaldia, Tugium, Glarona, Abatiscella. Again, some have towns or Cities which command the Cantons, and the same especially those that were built by Princes, or were subject to them, are governed Aristocratically by chief men (namely, a Senat chosen out of al the citizens) & cal their chiefe Magistrate Scultet, (vulgarly Schuldte Hessen) such are Bern, Lucerna, Friburg, Solothurn. Thirdly, other townes or cities are divided into tribes or companies, and the Senators are chosen out of these Tribes by the voices of the people. [III.iv.268.] wherof the chiefe is called Burgomeister. Such are Zurech, Basill, and Schafhusen.

*The sixe  
Townes and  
Villages of the  
first forme.*

Among those of the first forme dwelling in Villages, I named Glarona, Abatiscella, (vulgarly Apenzill) and Tugium (vulgarly Zug), for howsoever they have Townes yet the territory or Canton is not commanded by the Townes, having onely equall right with all the Inhabitants of the Country. All Townes and Villages of this forme (whereof I named sixe) have a President of their Counsell called Amman, that is, Amptman, signifying a man of Office. The Urii are devided into ten parts, call

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Tenth by the vulgar name. The Suidii are divided into foure parts, called quarters. The Undervaldii are parted with a wood of Oakes, and thereby are divided into the upper and lower, and the whole canton hath the name of the lower, as dwelling under the wood, and Stantium is their chiefe Village. Zug for the Towne consists of two, and for the county, of three, convents or meetings. Glarona consists of fiftene Tagwans (signifying a daies tillage) Apenzill as well towne as countrey, consists of twelve Roden, whereof the sixe inward were of old under the Abbot, and the sixe outward were out of his territory, either free, or subject to private Gentlemen. Out of each of these convents or parts, the Senators of the whole canton are chosen in equall number, being in most of them threescore in number, besides those who having had publike honours, remaine perpetuall Senators. Zug hath forty five Senators, that is, nine of each convent, the towne being taken for two convents. Apenzill hath 144 Senators, namely twelve for each convent. In weighty affaires, for which it seemes not good to call the people together, the Counsels of Senators in most places are doubled or trebled, each Senator chusing one or two Assessors: But onely citizens are capable of this dignity, and it is much more difficult to obtaine freedome of being a citizen with these cantons, then with the cities. The highest power is in the generall meeting of the people, to which all are admitted of foureteene or sixteene yeeres age, and they meete in the middest of the territory, or in the chiefe Village of the canton, and there is first chosen the Amman, in most places for two yeeres, and out of all the people, of what part or convent soever he be: but at Apenzill he must remove his dwelling to the Towne, where publike counsels use to be held, and there abide during his office. And at Zug he is chosen out of the convents by order & course, and for the time of his Office must dwell in the city. Next to the Amman, they chuse his Deputy called Statthalter, then the Treasurer called Seckelmeister, that is, Master of the Purse, then the

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Scribes or Clarkes, and other Officers in order: And this is peculiar to these Cantons, in the seeking of any publike Office, that they who seeke it, are themselves present at the giving of voices, and themselves, their Parents and children, give voices in their election, which are given by lifting up the hand from an high place, and in case of doubt, are numbered by the Pole. The Senators are not chosen by the whole Assembly, but each by the Inhabitants of his owne convent or part: Besides this publike meeting, other meetings use to be appointed upon extraordinary occasions, namely, when Ambassadors are to be sent, or any decree is to be made of league, peace, or warre: Besides the two counsels, of all the people, and of chosen Senators, most of the cantons have a privy counsell of few men: Thus the Suitii have a privy counsell of one Senator, and one Amman chosen of each convent or part, and this counsel governes the publike rents and expences. They have two courts of Judgment, one of nine men, in which the Amman is President, and that determines the weighty causes of inheritance, of defamation, and injuries. The other of seven men; in which the Ammans Deputy is President, and that determines civill causes of debts and contracts. The Urii (or canton of Urania) have the same course, where the Court of fifteene men, in which the Amman is President, determines civill controversies of greatest moment, and the court of seven men, in which the Ammans Deputy is President, judgeth of debts under the value of threescore pound. The Undervaldii have one court of judgement at Stantium, and another at Sarna, and each hath an Amman for President. The towne or city of Zug, besides the publike counsels of the Canton, hath his proper Senate and Magistrates or Judges. In the canton of Glarona, the judiciall court of nine men, determines of inheritance, defamation, and injuries: And that of five men judgeth debts, but onely in the two moneths of May and September, Judgements are exercised by the Judges yeerely chosen at the generall meeting of the Canton. The Canton of Apenzill hath two Courts of Judgement,

[III. iv. 269.]

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one of twenty foure men (two of each convent or part), wherein fines are imposed, and defamations and injuries are judged. The other of twelve men called the sworne Court of Judgement, because it judgeth of doubtfull controversies, and such as are tried upon oath, and this also observes the breaches of Statutes, and determine what causes are to be propounded before the Senate, and this Office is perpetuall. Of Consistories, and Matrimoniall, and Spirituall causes, handled in other Courts, I shall speake hereafter in the Chapter of Religion. Capitall causes almost in all these Cantons are judged by the Senate, or publike Counsell, and that commonly doubled, the Amman of the Canton, or his Deputy being President. At Zug Assessors out of each Convent or part are associated to the Senate, and they sit in a publike place, where all men may behold the Judges, and heare their sentences: For the Courts of Judgements in the prefectures or governements, commonly a Deputy Governor, and Assessors, are chosen of the Inhabitants, to joyne with the Governour, and they determine as well of civill as criminall causes, and these Governours in some places are chosen for three yeeres. Some Villages have municipall rights under the Cantons, and there they chuse Magistrates out of their owne Village, yet they yerely crave this priviledge at the publike meeting, and it is granted them as a singular favour. And some of these Villages have also their peculiar Banners and Ensignes; but they beare them not where the great and common Banner of the Canton is displaid.

In the second place are the Cantons (as formerly is shewed) over which the Townes commaund not divided into Tribes or Companies, namely, Bern, Lucern, Friburg and Solothurn, in which it is forbidden by the Law that they should be divided into Tribes. But the Artisans have their Colledges (or Halles) not for the chusing of Magistrates, but for orders of the Art, and these they call *Geselschafften*, that is, Societies or Fellowships, not Tribes or Companies, which are vulgarly called *Zunftten*. In

*Four Townes  
of the second  
Forme.*



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these Cantons the chiefe Magistrate is vulgarly called Schuldthessen, that is set over debts, whom I may call Consull, and they have two Counsels, the greater and the lesse. The greater at Bern hath the name of two hundred, though they be more in number, and the lesser is of twenty sixe men. At Lucern the greater is of one hundred men, and each halfe yeere eigtheene governe the Commonwealth by courses. At Bern when they chuse the Senate, the foure Ensignes of the Citie take to them sixteene out of all the Citizens, and these twenty men with the Consull, chuse the greater Senate. First, they inquire after those two hundred that were of the Senate, and if any of them hath disgraced his dignity by any ill act, they put him out of his place, and towards Easter they chuse new Senators into the places of them, and of such as are dead, and the Serjeants make this election knowne to them that are chosen. All the Magistrates are chosen, and then all the Citizens have feasts in their severall Colledges or Halles, and after dinner they passe the time in games and divers exercises. Then the Consul with the twenty men called the Electors, doe meete againe, and chuse the Senatours of the lesser Counsell, who the day following are approved by the greater Counsell. At Lucern twice each yeere they make election of Senators into the greater or lesser Counsell, if any places be voide, namely, about each Solstice of the yeere. And the Senators are chosen by those of the greater Counsell, who governed the last halfe yeere. The Consuls are chosen by the common voices of both the Counsels, and these Consuls are chosen for a yeere at Lucern, for two yeeres at Bern, (though for forme yeerely Voyces be given, and so they may seeme to be newly chosen.)

At Bern the chiefe authoritie next to the Consuls, is given to the foure Ensignes vulgarly called Venner, which are chosen of the foure Colledges or Hals of the Smiths Shoomakers, Bakers, and Butchers, and the City is divided into foure parts, each part committed to one of the Ensignes, to visit their Armes, and over-see all military

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duties, and they execute this place foure yeeres, though for forme they yeerely resigne their Banners up to the Senate; and if in the meane time any one of them die, another is set in his place, to fulfill the rest of the yeeres, as deputy to his Predecessor and then exercise the place [III.iv.270.] foure yeeres more for himselfe.

In all the Cities of Sweitzerland, the Treasurers or Tribunes of the Exchequer, are of great reputation, who exercise that Office not for any set time, but so long as the Senate will, and themselves like. At Bern the Consuls, the Ensignes, and the Treasurers, adding one Senator of the Counsel of 200, make the Privy Counsell, to which all secrets are first brought. In these Cantons (as I said) the Magistrates are chosen by publike voices, and so are the officers, but the places of lesse dignity, as Serjeants & watchmen, are bestowed by the lesser counsell. It is peculiar to those of Bern, that they admit no man into the lesser counsel, who was not borne in the City, and of old they admitted not the very sonnes of Senators into that Counsell, if they were borne out of the City: but in these daies for the publike good, the Sonnes of the absent are as if they were borne in the City: but into the greater Counsell they admit those that are borne out of the City, so they be the children of Sweitzers or any confederates, for strangers are also excluded from being of the Senate of 200. All bastards or infamous persons are excluded from being of any Senate at all.

The Canton of Bern hath three Courts of Judgement, the Judges of them being chosen by the Ensignes and Treasurers, and confirmed by the lesser counsell. The first is called the outward Court, in which the Consull is President, but almost continually the chiefe Appariter or Sergeant supplies his place, and he hath twelve Assessors or Assistants, whereof one is the last chosen Ensigne, and another is chosen of the lesser Counsell, the rest being ten, are chosen out of the greater counsell, or Senate, and to them be added one Clarke and two Appariters. This

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Court judgeth of debts, of lesser injuries, as ill words and light blowes, and appeale is granted from it to the lesser Senate, from that to the sixty men, (being Senators chosen out of both the Senates), and from them to the great Counsell, and these Judges meete daily, Tuesday only excepted, on which they have a market. The second Court of Judgement heares the appeales made from those of the Canton which dwell in the territory of Savoy, whereupon it is called Das Weltschgericht, that is, the strangers Justice, in which the Treasurer of the French revenues is President, and he hath ten Assessors, but onely Losanna, though of the same territory, is exempted from this Judgement, whither once every two yeeres, a Judge is sent, with certaine Assessors, to heare their appeales. A third court of Judgement called the Consistory, belongs to the discourse of Religion.

The Canton of Lucerna hath two Courts of Judgement, one called Das Wuchengericht, that is, the weekly Justice, which determines of debts and contracts: The other of nine men, in which injuries and reproches are punished: In the Cantons of Bern & Lucern, capitall crimes are not tried by any speciall Judges, but both the Senates sit, & give sentence upon them.

At Bern after sentence is given in the Senate, the Consull sits in the publike tribunall, where the Clerke reades in writing the prisoners confession, and the sentence of the Senate, which done, the Consull commands the hangman to doe execution, and the Prisoner to be delivered to his hands. And at Lucerna the Senate judgeth all capitall crimes, not only for the Canton, but also for the Prefectures or Governements, and all executions are done within the City, wheras Bern appoints speciall Judges for capitall crimes in the governements, the Governour being President, but their sentence there given may bee changed, or mitigated by the Senate of Bern, which commandeth over larger governements, then any other Canton.

At Friburg the greater Senate consists of two hundred

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Senators, which manageth all publike affaires, and things of greatest moment. The lesser Counsell or Senate is of twenty foure men, and judgeth of Citizens causes, and appeales made by the subjects, and the Consull is President of both Senates, who is chosen by all the people for 3 yeres, upon the day of S. John Baptist, as the choises of Senators is yerely made upon the Sunday next before that feast. The foure Ensignes are next to the Consull, and are set over the 4 parts of the city, and howsoever they are not Senators of the lesser Senate, yet they are alwaies present at their meetings, in the name of the people, & they performe this office for three yeeres, being chosen by both the Senates, as most of the Magistrates are likewise chosen by them. The Treasurer is next in dignity, who oversees the treasure and the buildings, and holds his office for three yeeres, but yeelds account twice every yeere to the Senate. They have foure chiefe Clarkes or Secretaries, and the Office of the chiefe Apparater, exercised by one man for three yeeres, is honourable here, as at Bern, for commonly he assists the Consull, and when the Senate meetes, stands at the doore, takes the Senators voices, and hath the care of captives. At Friburg they have a Court of Justice, called the Cities Court, which judgeth the citizens causes, takes the examination of captives, and puts the accused to the racke or torment, but after, referres all to the Senate. They have another Court of Justice for the countrey, wherein the causes of subjects dwelling out of the city are determined. In both Courts are two of the lesser Senate, and eight Judges of the greater Senate, chosen for three yeeres, and they meete thrice every weeke, and appeale is admitted from them to the lesser Senate. Also twelve Judges chosen out of both the Senates, determine the appeales of the prefectures or governements, meeting once every moneth for that purpose, and from them there is no appeale. The Governours are chosen by both the Senates, and hold that Office for five yeeres, but give accompt yerely before the lesser Senate, and they judge capitall

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*Three Cities  
of the third  
forme.*

crimes in their governements; but the Senate hath power to change, mitigate, or approve their sentence, as they judge meete.

In the third place it remaines to speake of the third forme of government in the three Cities distributed into tribes or companies, namely Zurech, Bazill, & Schafhusen, wherein the state is divided into two Orders of the noble and plebean. They have a peculiar society of those called noble (which is vulgarly called *Eingesellschaftt*, and at Zurech, *Ein Constaffell*): but Bazill for the great number of them, had two societies, which had the chiefe authority, the Consull being chosen of one, and the tribune (next in dignity) chosen of the other, till the nobility was removed from government, or rather freely gave it over: For these Gentlemen first joined with the House of Austria, and were after banished with them, till the yeere 1501, a perpetuall league was made with the House of Austria, and the Gentlemen returned from banishment, but hating the common people, left the City to dwell in their Castles, whereupon their authority was much diminished; and that which remained they utterly lost in the yeere 1529, when they left the City, and opposed themselves to the reformation of religion decreed by the Senate: yet the said two societies in name, and their publike houses of the societies, and the private houses in their possession, remaine to them at this day, but none of the Gentlemen are chosen into the Senate, being excluded by the common consent of the Citizens from the government of the Commonwealth, which they willingly forsook, so as the gentlemen have really no peculiar society, only some few of them dwelling continually in the City, are numbered in the foure chiefe Tribes or companies of the Citizens, and in them are chosen into the Senate, as Citizens, and these foure companies are called the companies of the Lords or Gentlemen. At Zurech they have a peculiar society of Gentlemen, which hath this priviledge, that halfe as many more are chosen into the Senate out of it, as out of any other tribe. And in this very society of Gentlemen, there is

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difference among themselves, for the old Families have a peculiar Society, and a private stoave wherein they onely meete, and many Citizens are joined to the whole society, who neither exercise any art nor trade of Merchandize; and because Porters and the baser sort must be numbered in some tribe or company, all these for occasions of warre, are numbered in this society of the Gentlemen, called Constaffel, and under the same they serve in the warres, yea, and give their voices in the choice of the Master of the society, who is one of the Senate. Also at Schafhusen, the Gentlemen have a peculiar society: but in all these Cities, the people is divided into tribes or companies (vulgarly called Zunft, whereas the Gentlemens society is called Gesellschaft or Constaffell).

At Basil there be 15 Tribes, (whereof 4 are called the tribes of the Lords or Gentlemen) namely of the Merchants, of the Goldsmiths, of the Vintners, of the Apotaries and Silkemen (the most populous of all other), [III.iv.272.] and the other eleven are Plebeian Tribes of all kinds of Artisans. Zurech hath twelve Tribes (for the Weavers of wollen cloth being few, are numbred among the Dyers.) Schafhusen hath but eleven Tribes, wherein sometimes Artisans of divers Arts are joyned in one Tribe: but each Art hath his peculiar Hall, and these are called the divided Tribes, and they meete in their peculiar Halles, when they consult of any thing concerning their private Art: but they meete in the common Hall of the Tribe for causes touching the Commonwealth, as the choise of Senators, or Masters of each Tribe.

In the said Cities are two Counsels, the greater when many meete in the name of the people to consult of weighty causes belonging to the Commonwealth, and the lesser, which daily sits in judgement. At Zurech the greater Counsell or Senate is of 200 men, and the lesser of 50. At Basil the greater is of 244, the lesser of 64. At Schafhusen the greater is of 86, the lesser of 26 Senators. To these ad two Consuls, the Heads or Presidents of publike Counsels in each of these Cities. And

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

this is common to al these Cities, that each Tribe hath two Masters, chosen for half or a whole yeere, which time ended, others succcede in that place, yet commonly he that was Master the last halfe yeere is chosen againe, except there be some impediment. The lesser Senate is divided into new and old, and that is called the old, whereof the Senators have served halfe a yeere, and these are not alwaies called to the meetings, for some businesse only belongs to the new Senate. At Zurech the two Senates are changed each halfe yeere, and the old Senate at the halfe yeeres end chuseth the new. But at Basil and Schafhusen, they remaine in Office a whole yeere. And the Masters of the Tribes are chosen by their owne Tribes, and confirmed by the greater Senate, but they are confirmed by the old Senate at Basil. The voices are openly taken at Zurech, but secretly at Schafhusen (for certaine men are set over the elections, in whose eares they give their Voyces softly whispering.) The lesser Counsell or Senate meetes commonly thrice or foure times each weeke. The Consull is President of both Senates, and is chosen by the greater Senate for halfe a yeere, and in some places for a yeere. The Tribunes are joyned with the Consuls for Heads and Presidents of the Senates; and at Basil nine other are joyned to them, who make the Counsell of thirteene, to whom the more weighty affaires are referred, to consider of them before they be propounded to the whole Senate. Zurech hath a peculiar Counsell, which may be called the Exchequer Court consisting of eight men, chosen foure out of each Senate, and to them all Exchequer accounts are referred. Two Clerkes or Secretaries are present at publike Counsels, with assistants joyned to them if neede require; and the Office of these Secretaries, especially of the chiefe, is honourable and gainefull, and not easily conferred on any but a Patritian, because they must have full knowledge of the Lawes, Customes, Priviledges, and all secrets of the Commonwealth.

Zurech hath two publike Courts of Judgement or Justice, one of eight Judges chosen out of the lesser

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Counsell or Senate, who determine Civill causes, Debts, and the like, and from them there is no appeale: but themselves referre the most difficult matters to the Senate. The other determines the causes of the Revenue. Basil hath two Courts of Justice in the great Towne, and a third in the lesser Towne. The greater Court consists of ten Judges, who are partly taken out of the Senate, partly out of the people, and they determine Civill and Criminall causes: but the Burgomaster (or Maier) is President for Civill causes, and the Advocate of the Empire for Criminall, and three men called the Capitall Triumviri of Senators degree, pleade and prove inditelements against malefactors. But at Zurech and Schafhusen, the new Senate judgeth capitall causes, yet the Consull or Burgomaster is not then President as at other times: but the Advocate of the Empire, whom the Senate by speciall priviledge chuseth yeerely out of their owne body. And at Basil capitall Judgements are given in a publike place: but at Zurech in a close private Court with the doores shut, and at Schafhusen, the accusation and defence are made in open Court: but all are excluded when the Senate gives judgement. The lesser Court of the great Towne at Basil, doth onely determine small controversies not exceeding the value of ten pounds. The Court of Justice in the lesser Towne of Basill, hath his owne Burgomaster or Consull; and determines all causes except criminall. At Schafhusen the Cities Court of Justice, determines of debts, contracts, and the like: but if the summe of the controversie exceed the value of one hundred gold Guldens, the Senate judgeth it. And this Cities Court hath twenty Assessors, namely one of each Tribe, and eight other chosen by the Senate. It hath another Court of Justice for the Mulcts or Fines, consisting of twelve men, and the Advocate of the Empire is President thereof, and this Court imposeth Fines, and judgeth the criminall causes of lesse weight, as small injuries and vulgar reproches, for the Senate determines of the greater. [III.iv. 273.]



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Touching the Magistrates and Officers of these Cities, the Consuls called Burgomasters, are of chiefe dignity, then the Tribunes, then divers Treasurers and Officers about the Revenues and Tributes. The next degree is of those Officers, who have the care of publike buildings and workes, then those who have the care of victuals, as those who looke to the weight and goodnesse of bread, and those who oversee the shambles, that no unsound meate be sold, and that all things be sold at a moderate price, which they set downe, and appoint how flesh shall be sold by the pound. In like sort the overseers of the fish market, and salted meates, and butter and cheese. Likewise the Officers who protect Orphanes and widowes, who dispence publike almes, governing those houses, and who oversee weights and measures, and the publike Schooles. Some of the prefectures or governments belonging to the Cities, are governed by the Senate of the City, so as the Governours remaine Senators in the City, and onely at set daies goe to the Villages for administration of Justice: but the Senate onely judgeth of capitall causes: but to those Governments which be larger and farther distant, they send Governours, who judge not onely civill, but most capitall causes. In priviledges, customes, and peculiar Courts of Judgement, where the prefectures have power to chuse Judges among themselves, the Governours alter nothing therein, but onely sit as Presidents in their judgements, these their rights alwaies preserved. Thus among other, the City of Zurech hath two pleasant faire Townes subject to it, which are ruled by the Lawes of Zurech, but have their owne Magistrates, and serve Zurech in warre, but under their owne colours. And this shall suffice touching the Common-wealths generall and particular of the Cantons.

*Of the  
fellowes in  
league.  
Of the Abbot  
Towne of S.  
Gallus.*

Among the fellowes in league, are the Abbot and Towne of Saint Gallus. The Abbot is numbered among the Princes of the Empire, but his power is much diminished in these daies: yet he sets Governours over many places, and his Ammans doe Justice in his name. Also he hath

## OF THE SWISS LEAGUES

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instituted an high Court of Justice, to which appeales are made from the lesser Courts, and besides he hath Officers of all kinds, after the manner of Princes. The Towne (as likewise that of Mulhuse and Rotevil) is numbered among the Cities of the Empire, and it (as the other two) hath the forme of a Commonwealth formerly described, saving that this Towne of Saint Gallus hath some peculiar things. It hath sixe Tribes, whereof one is of Gentlemen. It hath two Senates, the greater and the lesser, in which lesser Senate are foure and twenty Senators, namely three Consuls, nine Senators, and twelve Masters of the Tribes, (for each Tribe hath three Masters chosen by the Tribes, and confirmed by the lesser Counsell or Senate, and one of them yeerely by course governes each Tribe, being sixe in number, the other two are of the Senate, and make twelve): And twice every yeere, is the choice made of the Senate and Magistrates. The first of the three Consuls exerciseth that Office for the present yeere, the second did exercise it the yeere before, and the third is Judge of capitall crimes: And the Consull is yeerely chosen by the whole assembly of the people. The greater Senate consists of sixty sixe men. This Towne hath also an inferiour Consull, or (as I may say) a Deputy Consull. The lesser Senate judgeth civill causes. The greater meeteth five times in the yeere, and judgeth of appeales, and of taking new inhabitants, and the like, and extraordinarily it is called oftner, as for judging capital causes, at which time the Advocate of the Empire (whom I said to be the third consul) is President of the counsel. The whole people is called together thrice in the yeere, first when the Consuls [III.iv.274.] are chosen, 2. when oath is given to the newe Consul, thirdly when the Ordination of Tributes is read before the people: & the Lawes devided into three Parts, are read before the people at these three meetings. The first Court of Justice, is of five men, which judgeth of debts, of wages or hires, of victuals, of injuries, and fines, without appeale. The court of Justice for the City, is of twelve men, changed twice each yeere; & from it apeale

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is admitted, to the lesser Senate, so the cause be above the value of five pounds; but if he that appeales lose the cause, he paies a fine to the Judges. The common people of the towne and country, lives by making woollen cloth, whereupon strict Lawes are made for the same, that the web undressed be viewed by three skillfull men, and be marked according to the goodnes, and if it be faulty, be rent in the midst through the breadth, or be burnt, where any great fault is found, and that publikely, besides a fine imposed upon the weaver. After, sworne men measure and marke the cloth, besides other officers, who curiously and particularly view each cloth. I said before in the History of this towne, that it made warre upon the Abbot, when he sought to remove from it to another towne, more absolutely in his power, not only the gainefull trade of cloth-working, but also the holy reliques, whereby in those daies great gaine came to them.

*Of the  
Grisons.*

Among the Rhetians or Grisons, each convent or meeting or community hath his Amman, and chiefe Magistrates, yeerely chosen, and a generall Governor of the whole leage, called Landtrichter, that is, Justice of the land, yeerly chosen at the publike meeting. They have many convents or meetings, but only three leagues. The head of the second league, called the house of God, is the City of Chur, which hath a Cathedrall Church, and the common-wealth thereof is not unlike that of Zurech. The three leagues have but one common-wealth; for howsoever most places have their owne Magistrates, and Lawes, or rather customes, and Courts of Justice aswell for Civill as criminall causes, yet the chiefe power is in the common or publike Senate of the three leagues, consisting of the Burgesses of the severall convents, not unlike the generall Senate of the Sweitzers, and the meeting of all the people is seldome called. But they have another Counsell or Senate of the chiefe men, namely the Provinciall Judge of the upper league, the Consull of Chur for the league of the house of God, & the Amman of the third league of the ten Jurisdictions, with other chosen men joined to them,

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but this Counsell hath not full power, for the acts thereof are referred to the communities of the leagues, & that stands in force which the greater part of them doth confirme, and the judgments of such causes as are referred to the severall communities, are registred in a written booke. They determine controversies and give Judgements, as the Sweitzers doe. Among their Statutes, it is decreed by common consent, that the Bishop of Chur, or any Ecclesiasticall person, shall not appoint any Civill Magistrates, but that they shall be chosen by the voices of the people. The three leagues have their prefectures or governments under them, & the governor of their Italian prefectures (as of those under the Sweitzers) is vulgarly called Il Podesta, from whom the subjects may appeale. The three leagues by course appoint these Governors for two yeeres, and the conventes or communities by course in their owne league, name the said Governors for two yeeres.

Touching the Valesians. The convents of upper Valesia are seven, and of the lower are six. The Bishop of Sedune is the Prince of the Country or region, who is named the Earle and Governor of the same, and he is chosen by the Cannons of the Church at Sedune, and by the Burgesses sent from the seven convents of upper Valesia. The Captaine of the Country is next to the Bishop, and is chosen by the Bishop and the said Burgesses for two yeeres, and confirmed by the publike consent of the severall convents, and to him all Civill causes are referred. Each convent hath a chiefe Magistrate or Maior, or Castellan, who with the Senate of that convent judgeth Civill and capitall causes, and under him is the Amman, (which is the highest officer in the Cantons dwelling in villages). Appeales are admitted from all the severall convents to the publike Senate of Valesia, consisting of Burgesses chosen by the convents, and this Senate meetes at Sedune twice every yere, and the Bishop sits in that Counsell, and the Bailly takes the Voyces. By this Senate the Common-wealth is governed, the governours, and

*Of the  
Valesians.*

[III.iv.275.]



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publike Officers are chosen, and it is called the highest Court, from which there is no appeale. The Lords of Chiurone, of old were of great authority, and are the Marshalls of the Bishopricke of Sedune, Vicounts of Sedune, and Seneschalls (or Stewards) of Valesia. The Valesians have a peculiar Statute to repress the violence of mighty men. The Common-wealth is governed by the Bishop and the seven Convents of upper Valesia, whom lower Valesia obeyeth, being distributed into sixe prefectures or governments, and three other prefectures out of Valesia, taken or subdued in the Savoian warre, are also subject to them.

*Of the Towne  
of Bipenne.*

The Towne of Bipenne having league with the three Cantons, for civill causes acknowledgeth the Bishop of Basil, and for Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction is under the Bishop of Losanna, but hath cast off the yoke of the Papacy, and obtained immunitie from the Bishop of Losanna, when that Bishoprick and Citie were taken and made subject to the Canton of Bern. The Bishop of Basil appoints the Maior, out of the Senate of the Towne, and the Maior taketh an oath from the Citizens, and they likewise an oath from him, and he with the Senate judgeth criminall causes, and is President for capitall Judgements. The Bishop hath halfe of all fines above three pound, and certaine tythes with some other revenewes, but the Customes Impositions and Tributes belong to the Citie. The Citizens serve the Bishop of Basil in warre, but no further from the Towne, then they may returne home the same day: but if he will use them further, he must hire them with pay. The same priviledges were granted to this Towne by the Bishop, in the yeere 1382, which he granted to the lesser Towne of Basil. The publike Senates, as well the greater as the lesser, are yeerely chosen by all the Citizens, and the Master of the Citizens, or Burgomaster is next in authority to the Maior, and is chosen by both the Senats, and when they consult of the Common-wealth, the Maior and the Officers of the Bishop goe out of the Counsell. The Consull, Tribunes, Judges,

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and other Officers are chosen by both the Senates, onely the Ensigne is chosen by all the people, and he with the Consull hath the care of Pupils. This Towne hath some subjects, and their Convents without any Governour exercise Judgements: but the greatest matters are referred to the Senate of the Towne.

The Stipendiary Townes or Cities of the Cantons, have two Counsels or Senates, and he that is President of the publike Counsell is called Schuldthess (as set over debts) and at Baden he is chosen by both the Senates. Also they have their Officers, their Exchequers and Tributes belonging to each City: but at Baden the customes at the gate belong to the Towne: but the impositions upon Merchandise belong to the Cantons, to which the Towne is subject. Lastly, they have Jurisdiction in Civill criminall and capitall causes. Among them the Towne of Frawenfeld redeemed it selfe from the servitude of the Monastery of Augia, for no small part of the Citizens were Ecclesiasticall slaves to that Monastery. At this day it gives an oath to the Lord of Augia, the priviledges alwaies preserved, and that Monastery is incorporated to the Bishoprick of Constantia (vulgarly called Costnetz.) The City Judges have also power to judge and punish capitally.

*Of the  
stipendiary  
Cities.*

Touching the prefectures or governments under the Cantons, the Governours are sent by course from the Cantons for two yeeres, who judge according to the lawes of the severall people, and for those beyond the Alpes, the Governour hath assistants of the Country chosen and joyned with him to judge of capitall and more weighty causes, but in Civill causes he judgeth alone, though sometimes he calles some of the wiser inhabitants to advise him therein. The Governours about the Solstice of the yeere, yeeld account before the Senate of Sweitzerland, which then judgeth the appeales made by the subjects. They serve the Cantons in warre, to which they are subject, and they follow the standard of that canton, which for the present yeere gives them a Governor, and in civill warre

*Of the  
Govern-  
ments.*

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[III.iv.276.]

they are bound to follow the greater part of the Cantons to which they are subject. The Governor of Baden is present in the publike Senate of the Sweitzers, he takes the voices, and they being equall, is the arbiter of the difference: but he hath only power in the territory of Baden not in the City, and there he appoints capitall Judges for life; for their manner is, that the Judges once chosen by him, exercise that place so long as they live. And the same Governour hath the power to mitigate their Judgements. The next in authority are the Clerke or Secretary and the under or Deputy Governour. Two little Townes of the County or territory of Baden, have Governours from the Bishop of Costnetz: but they serve the Sweitzers in their warres, and the Governour of Baden is their Judge for capitall causes. The prefecture or government of Torg most large of all the rest, hath 50 Parishes, whereof some have their own immunities or priviledges, the rest are subject to divers jurisdictions: but the Sovereigne power is in the Governour sent and chosen by the Cantons, excepting Cella, where the Citizens have their owne government, the Bishop of Costnetz having only the keeping of the Castle, and halfe the mulcts or fines. The seven Cantons with consent of the Lords in the severall jurisdictions of all this prefecture of Torg, appoint one forme of Justice. And the Judges impose very great fines, which belong to the Cantons, and especially upon crimes which have coherence with capitall offences, namely, foule injuries, breaches of peace, violence offered by the high way, challengers of publike waies or passages, changers of Land-markes, or goods committed in trust to their keeping, breakers of publike faith, and those who scandale or reproch any Magistrate. The prefectures of the Sarunetes, and the Rhegusci, and those of Italy, have each a Governour, vulgarly called Commissary, sent from the Sweitzers, and because the people speake the Italian tongue, hee hath a Sweitzer skilfull in that tongue for his interpreter. The people hath the power to chuse their owne Magistrates and Officers, and

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to determine of things concerning their Common-wealth, the Commissary not intermedling therewith.

### Chap. VI.

Of the Netherlanders Common-wealth, according to the foresaid subjects of the former Chapters.



Lower Germany, called of old Belgia, and now commonly Netherland (which the French name Pais bas, that is, Low countries) is divided into seventeene Provinces, as I have formerly shewed in the Geographical description thereof, namely, seven Counties, of Flaunders, of Artois, of Hannaw, of Holland, of Zealand, of Zutphane, and of Namurtz; foure Dukedomes, of Luzenburg, of Limburg, of Brabant, and of Gelderland, the Lordship or Dominion of West Freisland, three Countries or Territories, or places of Jurisdiction, of Groning, of Utrecht, and of Transisola, vulgarly Dlandt over Ysel. To which fiteene Provinces, that the number of seventeene may be compleate, some adde the County of Walkenburg (which is part of the Dukedome of Limburg), and others adde the two dominions of Mechlin and Antwerp, (which are contained under the Dukedome of Brabant.) And howsoever it be not my purpose to speak of any other Provinces, then those which they cal united, and through which onely I passed, yet it is not amisse in a word or two to shew, how these Principalities at first having severall Princes, by little and little grew into one body, and in our daies through civill warre became divided into two parts, the one of divers Provinces united for defence of their liberty, the other of the rest remaining under the obedience of their Prince.

*The  
Common-  
wealth of  
Netherland in  
generall.*

The County of Flaunders hath given the name of Flemmings to all the inhabitants of these Provinces before named, and the Earles thereof, when other

*Flaunders.*



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Provinces were erected to Dukedomes, did obstinately retaine their owne degree, least they should disgrace their antiquitie, with the newnesse of any Ducall or other title. [II. iv. 277.] And it is manifest, that this Earle was the first Peere of France, having the prerogative to carry the sword before the King of France at his Coronation, and to gird the same to his side, being not bound to appeare in Judgement before his Compeeres, except some controversie were about the property of his Earledome, or he should deny justice to his subjects: and finally having the badges of Sovereigne Majesty, to raise an Army, to make Warre and Peace, to yeeld no tributes or subjection to the King of France, to punish or pardon his subjects, to make Statutes, to grant priviledges, to coine mony, and to write himself by the Grace of God Earle, which no other Prince of France might do, but only the Duke of Britany. Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders in the yeere 1202, became Emperour of Constantinople, and held that dignity sixty yeeres, after which time the Empire returned to the Greekes. Earle Lodwick died in the yeere 1383, and Margaret his daughter and heire was married to Phillip Duke of Burgundy, who by her right became Earle of Flaunders. Charles Duke of Burgundy died in the yeere 1477, and Marie his daughter and heire was married to the Emperour Maximillian, and so Flaunders became subject to the House of Austria.

*The House of  
Austria.*

For Phillip, sonne to Maximillian, died before his father, and left two sons, whereof Charles the eldest was Emperour the fifth of that name, and heire to his Grandfather Maximillian. And Charles the Emperour taking the King of France, Francis the first, prisoner, in the battell of Pavia, in the yeere 1525, forced him to renounce all Sovereigne power over Flaunders and Artois, and to yeeld the Rightes of the House of Anjou to the Kingdome of Naples, and of the House of Orleans to the Dukedome of Milan, and of Genoa. Charles died, and his younger brother Ferdinand succeeded him in the Empire, being long before designed his successor, by being chosen King

## THE NETHERLAND COMMONWEALTH

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of the Romans: but he left al his States of inheritance to his eldest son Phillip King of Spaine. The rest of the Provinces by like right of marriage became subject to Maximillian, and so fell to Charles, and lastly to the King of Spaine, excepting Utrecht and the Transisolan Dominion, which by the yeelding of the Bishop (reserving his spiritual rights) and of the States of those Provinces, were joyned to the rest, and so finally fell to Phillip King of Spaine.

Histories witnesse, that some of these Provinces did owe homage to the Empire, and the rest to the King of France, till they fell into the hands of the powerfull Dukes of Burgundy, who by divers transactions tooke all rights from the Kings of France, and because the Empire hath been ever since in the House of Austria, it cannot seeme strange, the Kings of Spaine being of the same House, that these Provinces have been freed of the homage due to the Empire. The Emperour Charles the fifth happily governed these Provinces with great judgement, handling the people gently, who had alwaies been held under a gentle yoke by their Princes, injoying great priviledges inviolably kept to them, never used to absolute government, but having often taken Armes, when their Princes imposed exactions upon them, or broke any of their priviledges, and so bringing their Princes to just and equall termes. But his son Phillip K. of Spaine, and many other Kingdomes, straying from his Fathers example in the government of Netherland, and obstinately despising his counsell, which at his death as it were by his last Testament he gave him to handle this people gently, and not induring their voluntarie and free subjection, hath caused the greater, or at least the richer part of these Provinces to fall from him and his heires. For upon the first dissention about Religion, Pope Pius the fourth induced Phillip King of Spaine to publish a Decree in Netherland, for the establishing of the infamous Inquisition (first invented in Spaine of late to punish the Jewes and Saracens, who being Christians yet retained their owne

*The united  
Provinces.*

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[III. iv. 278.]

*The Civill  
warre.*

*The united  
States.*

rites), and also for the execution of the Decrees made in the Councell of Trent; which done, more then 400 Gentlemen made petition to the King to abolish this decree, and joyning the intercession of the Emperour, sent this petition to the King by the hands of divers Lords and Gentlemen, whereof the Prince of Egmond was one, who had done the King very great service in the battell of Saint Quintens. These petitioners were despised by the Spaniards, and called Geuses (that is beggers or poore slaves), and the King sent them backe unregarded, and sent the Duke of Alva to govern Netherland, who cruelly raged against the Professors of the reformed religion, & beheaded the Prince of Egmond and the Earle of Horn, both Knights of the golden fleece, and on all sides proceeded butcherly. In the meane time the Prince of Orange, (who formerly had in vaine perswaded the Prince of Egmond to fly) foreseeing this tyranny, with other banished Gentlemen, was gone out of Netherland, and fled to the Prince of Condé in Fraunce. At last the Duke of Alva, having brought all in subjection, reformed the policy, and imposed an exaction of the tenth penny, was recalled into Spaine. whither he returned with much treasure he had extorted, and Don Juan of Austria succeeded in that Government, in whose time the fatall Civill warre began in Flaunders, and shortly after mutinous troopes called Malecontents joined together, neither acknowledging the King nor the States of the Provinces, and while Don Juan pursued them, he died in the Camp in the yeere 1578. Then Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, was made Governor of Netherland, and the King persisting in his purpose to bring that people to absolute subjection, and the Professors of the reformed religion being grievously persecuted, and all the people being mutinously affected for the newe and tirannicall exaction of the tenth penny without consent of the generall States, and troubles still continuing in Flaunders, at last some few Provinces, having the Prince of Orange for their Generall in the warre, strictly combined themselves in

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league for mutual defence. So Flaunders and the firme land was left under the Spanish yoke, but the confederate Provinces firmly resolving to cast off all subjection to the King of Spaine, instituted a new forme of common wealth; For the Prince of Orange wisely and valiantly procuring the publike good, was in the yeere 1584 traiterously slaine with a bullet by a desperate Roague, whereupon the cities of Flaunders lay open to the Duke of Parma.

*The Prince of  
Orange  
killed.*

But the foresaid united Provinces cast themselves into the protection of the Queene of England; and if my memory faile not, they are thus named, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Groning, west Freesland, besides many townes for Gelderland, some fortes and strong cities of Brabant, and Ostend in Flaunders, a towne for neerenes fit to annoy the Enemy. And the foresaid fortes and strong cities, for the most part lying upon the coast of the sea within land, & upon the mouth of the Rheine where it fals into the sea, gave free traffick by sea to the united Provinces, & forbad the same to the cities within land, and besides yeelded this commodity; that as the Spanish soldiers from their forts send freybooters to spoile the united countries of Gelderland, Groning & Friesland, so the soldiers of the states might from thence make incursions upon the countries subject to the King of Spaine, wherby the country people were forced to pay large yeerly contributions, to be free from this spoile. The few inhabitants of these small Provinces, whome men will judge but a breakefast to the Spanish Army, notwithstanding have not only bene able to this day to keepe out these powerfull forces from entring their territories; but may justly brag, that they have wonne many strong forts and townes from the Spaniard, and carried their Army into Flaunders, where in a field fought at Newport, they obtained a glorious victory against the Spaniardes. And so much in small progresse of time have their just and moderate Counsellis increased their common-wealth, governed with great equity and equality, as at last forsaken (as it were) by the King of

*England  
protects them.*



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France, & for the time having little helpe from England, they alone did not onely long defend themselves from the powerfull revenge of the Spaniard, but stoutly bearing out the warr to a wished peace, are now no more to be pittied, but in common judgment rather to be envied and feared by their neighbours.

*The House of  
Nassaw.*

[III.iv.279.]

Mention hath bene made of the Prince of Orange, and hereafter mention is to be made of his sonne Count Maurice, therefore it will not be amisse to say something of this noble family. The united Provinces consisting of citizens and the common people, there being few Gentlemen in Friesland, and few or none in Holland and Zeland, and such kind of Plebeian men unfit to leade Armies, they aswell for the common-wealths sake, first tooke the Prince of Orange for their head, as after for thankfulnes to him much esteemed the Family of Nassaw, and besides others of that Family governing in Friesland and other parts, made choise of the said Princes sonne Count Maurice to be General of their Army, but with limited power from the States, and he hath a double (as I thinke) voice in their publike meetings, in which notwithstanding hee seldome or never used to be present. His father the Prince of Orange had all his inheritance in Brabant and Flaunders, excepting the Principality of Orange, seated in France neare the City of Marseils, and when he suspected the counsels of the King of Spaine (into whose net Count Egmond, confident in his innocency and great service done to the King, and the Count of Horne, unadvisedly fell), he first withdrew himselfe into France, and after into Holland, where (as I said) hee joyned with the States of the United Provinces, and was much respected and loved of them all, injoying from them honourable meanes of maintenance, well deserved in that his name and assistance much profited the common cause. He had many wives; first, he married the Countesse of Buren, sole daughter and heire to her father, and she bare him a sonne, who in the beginning of these troubles, was a Student in the University of Lovan, whence the Governour called him,

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and sent him into Spaine, and she bore him likewise a daughter, which was married to Count Hollock, a German well respected by the States for his warlike reputation and good services done to them, and he with his wife lived in Holland, when I passed through these parts. His second wife was the sister to the Elector of Saxony, by whom he had the foresaid Count Maurice, who yet being young, succeeded his father in the generall conduct of the States Army, and about this time whereof I write, had taken two strong Cities in Brabant, the inheritance of the Prince of Orange, namely, Bredaw and Getrudenberg; and because they were part of the Earledome of Buren, some difference was then about them, betweene the said Count Maurice and his said sister by the fathers side, wherein it was generally said, that the States favoured the Count. Also the Prince had by this wife a daughter, after married to the Governour of Friesland. His third wife was sister to the Duke of Mompensier in France, which had been a Nun, and by her hee had sixe daughters. Lewis married to the Palatine of the Rhein, Marie then living at Hage, the third living then in France, the fourth with the Count of Schwarthenburg, and Francis also then living at Hage, and a sixth then brought up in the County of Nassaw. His fourth wife was a French Lady of the Family of Chastillon, famous in that worthy Admirall of France killed in the Parisian Massacre. And this wife after the Prince was slaine lived then at Hage, with her onely sonne by him, who being borne at Delph in Holland, was therefore, and for many respects much regarded by the Hollanders, and yet being a childe, was honoured with military commands, and a large stipend for his maintenance, and shortly after had the title of Colonell of Holland, with no small addition to his meanes.

Being now to speake of the Magistrates, Lawes and degrees of Orders in this Commonwealth, it will not be amisse, first for conjecture of the generall estate of Netherland, to write some few things out of Marchantius a Flemming, and other approved Authours, particularly of

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*The  
Common-  
wealth of  
Flanders.*

the County of Flanders, for the preheminance it alwaies had over the rest of the Provinces. The chiefe strength of the Common-wealth of Flanders, is in the Counsell or Parliament of the three generall States, namely, of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the foure members, (in steed of the people making the third estate in other Kingdomes), and without the consent of these, the Earles were never wont to exact money, or make warre. And howsoever the King of Spaine had weakned the authority of this Counsell, yet when Subsidies are imposed, the very forme of old proceeding comforts the people, as a shadow of their old liberty. The Earle by writing is to appoint the time and place of this Assembly, or in the Earles name the Counsell of Flanders used to call together the Burgesses or Deputies thereof.

In these three States the Clergy is of chiefe dignitie, as well for their degree, as for the greatnesse of their revenewes, and many Territories under their command. and among these were onely five Bishops, till Pope Pius the fourth in the yeere 1560, established three new seates of Bishops at Gant, Bruges, and Ypre.

[III.iv.280.] The first degree of Nobility, is that of Barons, having their name of Banners, which they are bound to follow whereof there bee very many in Flanders, and of them some in later times have beene raised to the titles of Earle and Princes.

In the second ranke, are the Lords of Townes and Villages, whence Gentlemen have their surnames, and they cannot be numbered without tediousnesse: But almost all of them have possession given them from some of the Feudatory Courts of the Earles of Flanders, and differ in many customes, but in this all agree, that he who hath this fee cannot alienate it, without the consent of the Prince or the next heire, or upon oath given in Court, that hee do it for poverty and want. The inheritance of Fees descends to the eldest sonnes, a third part reserved for the younger brothers, so they give over to the elder their part in the other goods that are not in Fee. And it is an high fee

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if these Lords impose any tribute upon their subjects, except it bee with the consent of the Earle of Flaunders. There bee some of these that are called vassals, whereof some are clients of an higher, some of a lower degree. And the Earle of Flanders hath about seventene feudatory Courts, and the number is very great of Clients in Fee, depending immediately upon one or other of the said Courts, whereby the Earle hath many pecuniary profits and other services, upon fines and alienations of inheritance.

In the third rancke of Gentlemen are they, who hold inheritance in Fee, whereof some are tied to the Jurisdiction and Counsell of the Earle, as the Chancelor (so called of correcting or cancelling writings ill drawne with blotting out lines), which dignitie is tied to the Prepositure of Bruges Church, and before the Counsell of Flaunders was erected, this Office was of greater authoritie then now it is. Others of this kind are Burgraves or Castellanes or high Sheriffes, who are set Judges over Townes and Castles, with prerogative to have a proportion of the mulcts or fines, which dignity belongs to certaine Families, and may be alienated to others by sale, or for dowrie in marriage, and all have not the like but divers jurisdiction and preheminence. The Burgrave of Dixmud hath the Lordship or command of the Towne (which no other Burgrave hath), the ruling of the weights in the Market, the customes at the Gate, capitall Judgement, the fines that are under three pounds of Paris, and a part with the Earle of the greater fines, and the power to appoint the Bailly, Scabins and Burgomaster, and a third part of the goods of bastards dying without children. Also the Burgrave of Ypre takes an oath to himselfe of the Officers of that Towne as well as to the Earle, and he hath the fines, and power to appoint Magistrates. Others of this third rancke of Gentlemen have warlike Offices by inheritance, as the Constable (so called of Coninc and stapel, as the stay and upholding of the King), who hath the highest command in the warres; and the Admirall (so called of



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hee gave each of them a Scarlet gowne of woollen cloth (which his son Charles changed into a red Velvet Gowne) and a gold chaine, with his fathers Emblem, of a steele striking fire out of a flint, upon which chaine hangs the Golden Fleece, and upon the death of any Knight this badge is sent backe, to be bestowed upon some other Gentleman of merit. At first the number of these Knights with the Prince their head was twenty five: but within five yeeres they were increased to thirty five. And the Emperour Charles the fifth in the yeere 1516, made the number fifty one. At the first institution, this order had foure Officers, a Chancelor, a Treasurer, a King at Armes, and a Secretary; and in the Court of this Order, the unlawfull flying of any Knight out of the field, and all other crimes, and the dissentions among them, are judged without appeale. The feast of the Order hath been kept in divers places, according to the Princes pleasure, but the Armes of the Knights are set up in the Chancell of the chiefe Church at Bruges, where the feast thereof was kept at the first institution. In generall, Flaunders hath a great number of Lords and Gentlemen (as likewise the Dukedome of Luxenburg, and adjoyning Provinces), and they exercise themselves in feeding of Cattle and tillage, but judging ignoble all trade of Merchants, and profession of manuall arts. They have no immunities (as in Artois, Henault, and all France), but beare the same burthen of tributes with the people, to keepe them from sedition, while the Gentlemen, hated by them, beare the same burthen as they doe.

Having spoken of the two States of the Clergy and Gentlemen, it remaines to adde something of the third State, namely, the foure members, which have the place of the common people in other Kingdomes; and they are Ghant, Bruges, Ypre, and Terra Franca, that is, the Free land, which foure Territories have the chiefe, or rather all authoritie in Flaunders. Each of these members is exempted from all confiscation of goods by old priviledge, confirmed by the Emperour Charles the fifth, in the yeere

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1549. Other Cities, howsoever they have their Magistrates, Lawes and Revenewes to themselves, yet in the common Counsell or Parliament for imposing tributes, or leavying of souldiers, they follow the foure members, and all Flaunders is bound to their Decree in this generall meeting of the States, the Clergie, Gentlemen, Lords and Burgesses of other Cities consulting with the foure members: but they challenging all authoritie to decree, and solely representing the whole bodie of Flaunders in the generall meetings of all Netherland. John Duke of Burgundie removed from Lile to Ghant the Senate, called the Counsell of Flaunders, and giving the Law to all Flaunders. Bruges, a most pleasant Citie is the second member, having this priviledge above all other Cities, that hee who is free of the same by birth, gift, buying, or marriage, is freed from all confiscation of any goods wheresoever found, no crime or case excepted; whereas the priviledges of other Cities alwaies except violence offered to the persons of the Prince, his Wife, and Children. Also Bruges hath a stately Mint-house, with priviledge to coyne money. Ypre is the third member, which City I passe over, for feare to be tedious. The fourth member is Terra Franca, added to the rest (being but three at the first institution), by Phillip the Good, in the yeere 1437, with intent to bridle the power of Bruges, which Citie then much repined at the same, and never ceased to raise tumults, till Marie, wife to the Emperour Maximilian abolished this fourth member, which Charles the fifth their Grand-child shortly after restored to that dignitie.

[III.iv.282.] Among the Magistrates some of them doe properly belong to the Princes affaires, namely, the Legall Chamber, consisting of the Princes Counsellors, and being (as it were) the head of other Courts, the meeting and number whereof is at the Princes pleasure, but commonly the meeting is at Ghant, and they consult of waighty affaires, (which since have beene referred to the Princes Privy Counsell, or to the counsell of Flaunders, seated at Ghant) And to the same are referred all controversies touching

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fees, and appeales from feoditary Courts, which are judged without appeall, in the presence of the Earle or his Bailly, there being a chaire, cushion, and Sword of estate. Also the chamber Hastredeninga, that is, the supreme court of accounts, consisting of hereditary treasurers, yearly meeting at Lile for three daies, who judge without appeale all things touching Receivers, with personall and reall actions belonging to the Princes patrimony, and give oathes to new Treasurers and Feodaries. The third court of accounts, established at Lile, consists of a President, foure Masters, five helpers, and two clarkes. It examines the accompts of revenues by rents of lands, woods, customes at gates, confiscations, Fines, goods left to the Prince, as by shipwracks and Bastards dying without children, by homages, Pensions, and like profits, and all hereditary treasurers, and the two generall Receivers, give accompt in this court. Phillip the bold gave this court great authority, but John his sonne, removed the counsellers thereof to the office of Justice in Ghant, and left the court at Lile to register the Princes edicts, and Priviledges granted by him. Fourthly the court called the Counsell of Flaunders, which I said was removed from Lile to Ghant, and seems chiefe in dignity; first instituted, partly by litle & litle to draw Flaunders from the jurisdiction of Paris, in imitation of Brabant, Hennault, and Holland; for which howsoever the Princes did homage to the Emperor, yet they belonged not to the jurisdiction of the Empire, homage and jurisdiction by nature and in themselves being much different. But the chiefe cause of the institution, was the long absence of Phillip the bold in France, during the infirmity of the French King, in whose time this court formerly kept in divers places at the Princes pleasure, was settled at Ghant, and to this court are referred all things belonging to the Princes right and authority, & the controversies of Coiners, of the Church, of the Province and of Cities among themselves and with others, and appeales from Magistrates, and ratifying the Princes pardons for crimes. The Counsell consists of a



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President (of a Knightly degree by vertue of his office) eight Counsellors (having yeerly stipends) foure Commissaries (having part of the profit by informations) and for Assessors, the Procurator & the Advocate of the Prince, the Treasurer of the revenues, a Secretary and a Notary. Besides these courts and this said Counsell, Marchantius mentioneth a court of Justice highest and without appeale over all Netherland, instituted by Charles last Duke of Burgundy in the yeere 1473 at Mechlin, (as being in the Center of Netherland) and it judgeth after that is equall and good, in imitation of the Parliament of Paris; so as suiters needed not to follow the Earles Court. And the Prince was chiefe head of this Counsell, or in his absence the Chancellor, he being not present, the Bishop of Tornay, with two Presidents, ten Lay and nine Clergy Counsellors, six Masters of Requests (who were commanded to ride on horseback to the Senate, clad in Purple.) But Mary the daughter of the said Charles, fearing the French and Civill war, commanded the ceasing of judgement in this Court, which Phillip her son restored, and in the yeere 1493 reestablished that court at Mechlin, but lesse and more weake, as it still remaines.

And this shall suffice of the Magistrates belonging to the Princes affaires. Others belong to the subjects in severall Countries and Cities. Such are the Scabines and the Bailies. Scabines are so called of a German word Schaffen (that is to dispatch, or of an Hebrew word (as the Germans say.) These defend the rights and privileges of the people, determine controversies by the Statutes and municipall customes, or for want of them, by the written Law, and are present when any are tortured, and judge capitall causes, the pardoning whereof is rather permitted to the Prince, then much used by him. And these Magistrates are diversly named in divers places, as Voegte (Tutor) Portmeister, (Officer of the Port or Haven), Lanthouder, (that is, Keeper of the Land,) Kourcher (that is, chosen Lord), and Burgermaster (that is, Master of the Citizens). Under them are the Treasurers

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or Receivers in each City, and aswell they as the Scabines, are chosen by the Commissaries of the Prince. Next are the Baylies, so called of a French word, as Tutors and Keepers; and they are diversly called in divers places, namely Schuldheten, as Judges of debts: and they differ from the Scabines, in that the Scabines Judge, the Bailies execute their Judgements and the Princes Edicts; they have stipend, these are paid out of the Fines; they are changed after one or two yeeres, these continue long in Office; lastly, they respect the rights of the people, these of the Prince. In the Villages they have Officers called Ammans, who proclaime the Edicts of the Magistrate, and warne Debtors to make payment, and upon longer delay then is permitted by the Municipall Lawes, sell their goods at the outcry. They have a supreme Judge of capitall causes, whom they call Sovereigne Bailly, instituted in the yeere 1374, to apprehend murtherers and banished men, and to put them to death, or otherwise punish them, with the assistance of two Gentlemen having fees, or being Feodatory Clients to the Prince. And to this Officer authority was lately given & confirmed by the Emperor Charles the fifth, to release banishment, and for theeves and manslaughterers by chance, or upon their owne defence, and like offenders, upon satisfaction made to the next Kinsman of the man-killer, and to him that was robbed: not onely to give them safe conduct to passe for forty daies, but also to pardon their crimes, so as the Mulcts or Fines be gathered for the Prince, not to his behoofe; and the Counsell of Flanders approve the confessions of the offender to be true. But in case the Magistrate of the place where the offender dwelt, require him to be there tried, it cannot be withstood. And this Office is of such dignity, as Knights for long time have executed the same. Many Tributes were of old granted to the Prince, as perpetuall Tributes of the Fields, of Corne, Oates, Cheese, and Larde; which things for foode, have long time beene redeemed with money, the price being yeerely set diversly by the Counsell of accounts seated at Lile. And no

[III.iv.283.]

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

doubt through troubles and civill warres, from the beginning to this day, all like burthens are greatly increased both in number and measure, which may more easily bee conjectured, by that which shal be said of this subject, in the discourse of the united Provinces.

Flanders is most ruled by municipall Lawes and customes of Townes and Cities, and for want of them by the Civill Lawes. The Lawes of Flanders forbid any man to give in Legacies by his last Will and Testament, more then the thirds of his goods, (wherein are comprehended Lands in Fee); or that any stranger should beare the office of Magistracy: yet strangers may there inherite their Kinsmens goods, contrary to the custome of France, England, and Scotland, where the Kings have the goods of all strangers dying intestate, and having there no children. In Flanders no man is deprived of his mothers inheritance for bastardy, no not the children of a noble woman being a concubine, except some municipall Statute made by the Princes, doe in some places prejudice them. The Citizens of Curtrac about the yeere 1557, and those of Ghant some sixe yeeres after, have excluded those who are borne in adultery or incest from their mothers inheritance: but the provinciall Counsell of Flanders in the yeere 1532, gave sentence, that a Bastard should succeed in the fee of his mother, with priviledge of age and sex, even where the Parents leave Children lawfully begotten.

*Of the  
Common-  
wealth of the  
united  
Provinces,  
protected by  
the Queene of  
England.*

I returne to the foresaid Provinces, which I said to be united in mutuall league for their defence against the Spaniards. The said Provinces, at the first breaking out of the civill warre, when Antwerp was besieged, humbly and instantly besought Elizabeth Queene of England, to undertake their patronage and defence, and to encourage and give her more power, offered her the Sovereignty of those Provinces; but the most wise Queene with grave counsell, and for weighty reasons, refused to take them for Subjects. Perhaps (among other reasons of greater weight) fearing lest undertaking that warre as Queene of the Provinces, most part of the burthen thereof should

## THE NETHERLAND COMMONWEALTH

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fall upon her English subjects, thinking it probable, that the Netherlanders, being a people which had often taken Armes against their Prince, of all other things least bearing new taxes and impositions, (which they professed, next the persecution for Religion, to be the chiefe cause of this warre), would alwaies be apt to stir up sedition when her Majesty as their Prince should impose but half the tributes & customes, which themselves by general consent, & for love of liberty have imposed & born with incredible patience, during this warre. And howsoever her Majesty [III.iv.284.] desired their liberty should be preserved, yet the peace betweene England and Spaine, howsoever shaken by many injuries on both sides, provoking desire of revenge, notwithstanding was not yet fully broken. And it seemes probable to me (not knowing those counsels but by conjecture), that her Majesty being a woman, the King of Spaine being powerfull, and some of her Subjects being alienated from her for the reformation of Religion, thought it more wisdom to suffer warre for her just defence, then her selfe openly to beginne the same: yet would shee not altogether neglect the afflicted people of those Provinces, but resolved with the States thereof, that they should make Count Maurice sonne to the Prince of Orange, Generall of their Army, governing their owne affaires, and her Majesty should professe the defence of that afflicted people, with whom England alwaies had strict league of trade and amity, till meanes might be used for restoring them to the King of Spaines favour. Whereupon at the instant suite of the States, the tenth of August in the yeere 1585, her Majesty granted them an aide of five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, to whom her Majesty was to give pay during the warre, yet so as the Provinces were bound to make restitution of all her expences, when the warre should be composed; and for pledge of performance, should give into her Majesties hands the Towne of Vlissing in Zealand, with the adjoining Castle of Rammekins, to be kept with a Garrison of seaven hundred English foote, and the Towne of Brill



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

with some adjoining Forts, to be kept with a Garrison of 450 English Foot, the said Provinces being bound (as I said) to make reall satisfaction to her Majesty at the end of the warre, for all expences, aswel of the said Forces, as of these Garrisons, which amounted yeerly to the summe of one hundred twenty six thousand pounds sterling. And her Majesty for the safety of her neighbours bore this intollerable burthen, till the yeere 1594, at which time Sir Thomas Bodley Knight, her Majesties Ambassadour for those Provinces, by a new transaction diminished those great expences, the wealth of those Provinces being then much increased, aswell by the concourse of Merchants leaving desolate Flanders to dwell in that flourishing State, as because they had brought many Countries by right of warre to yeeld them contributions, namely, all the Sea Coast of Brabant, some part of Flanders, with the Countries vulgarly called, Ommelands, Drent, Twent, Linghen, Limbrough, and Walkenbrough, and had greatly increased their tributes, aswel in Holland, Zeland, Freesland, and Utrecht, as in Guelderland, Zutphan, Dlandt over Ysell, and lastly, had taken many strong Townes of no small moment, namely, Deventer, Zutphan, Nimmenghen, Stonwicke, Bredaw, Hulst, Steneberg, and Groninghen. The state of those Provinces being (as I said) thus increased, and her Majesty being forced for many yeeres to keepe a strong army at home, to subdue the Irish Rebels, her Majesties Ambassadour at the foresaid time made a new transaction with the States, for diminishing the charge of the English Forces serving them. And this helpe so long given by her Majesty to the united Provinces, cannot seeme of smal moment: For howsoever the Queen did not alwaies keepe the full number of the said Forces, and sometimes called home, or cashiered part of them, yet shee did alwaies maintaine the greatest part, decreasing or increasing the same according to the necessity of the present affaires, and imploied the Forces called home, onely in voiages by Sea, profitable aswell to the united Provinces, as to England, and that for a short time of

## OF THE STATES-GENERAL

A.D.  
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Sommer service, after sending them backe to serve the States.

The States who governe these Provinces (if they have made no change in particulars, which at pleasure they both can and use to doe), are grave men, Counsellors or Burgesses, vulgarly called States, chosen by the people of each City and Towne, not for a limited time, but during pleasure, and with full power; who residing in the chief City of the Province, have care all jointly of the provinciall affaires, and each particularly of his Cities or Townes affaires: And this Counsell must needes be distracted with divers opinions, arising from the divers affaires of each Province, City & Town, and the severall commandements they receive at home. These provinciall States, chuse among themselves one, two, or three Burgesses for each Province, (according to the condition and capacity of those that are chosen: for how many soever they be, they have but one voice for their Province at generall meetings), and these they send to reside at Hage in Holland, with like authority as they have, there to governe the publike affaires of all the united Provinces, and they are called the generall States. And as the provinciall States may be diminished in number or increased, according to the occasions of the publike businesse, or of any particular meeting, and may bee called home by the Citizens who chuse them; so the generall States chosen by them to reside at Hage, enjoy their places upon like condition. And out of these generall States certaine chosen men are made Counsellors, to order the affaires of warre, and to assist and direct the Generall of the Army therein. Others are set over the affaires of the Admiralty, others over the Chauncery of Brabant, and others over divers particular Offices, (I call them Counsellors of the Chauncery of Brabant, who manage the affaires of Brabant belonging to Holland). This must alwaies be understood, that the Burgesses or States of Holland, in respect of the dignity of that Province, many waies increased and enriched above the rest, have somewhat more authority and respect, then

*The States or  
chiefe  
Governors.*

[III.iv.285.]

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1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

any other; but the wheele of the publike State is turned by the Senate of the generall States residing at Hage, yet so, as they doe not take upon them to determine difficult matters, without some diffidence, till they have the consent of their particular Cities and Provinces, except they be made confident by the concurring of eminent men, who can draw or leade the people to approve of their doings, or in such cases as by long practice they fully know not displeasing to the people. So wary are they, notwithstanding the Provinciaall States from their Communities, and the generall States at Hage from them, have most ample power and absolute commission, in expresse words, to doe any thing they judge profitable for the Commonwealth. And it is a remarkeable thing, to observe their Art, when in difficult cases they desire to protract time, or delude Agents, how the generall States answere, that they must first consult with the provinciaall States, and they againe answere, that they must first know the pleasure of their Communities, before they can determine, and each of them hath nothing more in his mouth, then the consent of his superiours, (for so they call them). Whereas if businesse were so to be dispatched, no doubt great difficulty would arise in all particular actions. In the Senate of the generall States, besides the States themselves, Count Maurice hath (as I thinke) a double voice, yet I never observed him to be present at their assemblies. The Ambassadour of England hath likewise his voice, and Count Solms (as I heard) because he married the widdow of Count Egmond, and for his good deserts in the service of the united Provinces, hath for himselfe and his heires the like priviledge. Thus the Commonwealth in generall is Aristocraticall, (that is, of the best Men), save that the people chuseth the great Senate, which rules all.

*Common-  
wealths of  
particular  
Cities.*

Touching the Commonwealths of particular Cities. Amsterdam is the chiefe City of Holland, where the great Senate consists of thirty sixe chiefe Citizens, whereof one dying, another is chosen into his place; and this Senate

## OF THE NETHERLAND TRIBUTES

A.D.  
1605-17.

yeerely chuseth foure Consuls, who judge civill causes; and have power to appoint ten Judges of criminall causes (vulgarly called Skout), though they be not of that Senate. The other Cities are in like sort governed, but according to the greatnesse of the City or Towne, they have greater or lesser number of Senators.

The Tributes, Taxes, and Customes, of all kinds *Tributes.* imposed by mutuall consent, (so great is the love of liberty or freedome) are very burthensome, and they willingly beare them, though for much lesse exactions imposed by the King of Spaine (as they hold) contrary to right, and without consent of his Subjects, they had the boldnesse to make warre against a Prince of such great power. Yet in respect of the unequal proportioning of all contributions, they are somewhat at ods among themselves, & many times jarre, so as it seemed no difficult thing to breake their concord, had not the common Enemy & the eminent danger of Spanish revenge, together with the sweetnesse of freedome once tasted, forced them to constant unity. This I dare say, that when they humbly offered themselves vassals to the Queene of England, in the first infancy of their Common-wealth, if her Majesty, or any other Prince whosoever, undertaking their protection, had [III.iv. 286.] burthened them with halfe the exactions they now beare, it is more then probable, that they would thereby have beene so exasperated, as they would have beene more ready to have returned under the obedience of the King of Spaine, whose anger they had highly provoked, then to endure the yoke of such a Protector: For each Tunne of Beere (which they largely swallow), they pay into the Exchequer sixe Flemmish shillings (each shilling being sixe stivers), I meane of Beere sold abroad, for they pay onely foure shillings for such Beere, as men brew for the use of their private families, which frugality few or none use, except perhaps some brew small Beere for their Families, and indeed I doubt they would find small frugality in brewing other Beere for themselves, if the Cellar lay open to their servants. And howsoever the



A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Tunnes be of divers prices, according to the goodnesse of the Beere, namely of two, three, foure, five, or sixe Guldens, the Tunne (though at Leyden onely the Brewers may not sell Beere of divers prices, for feare of fraud in mixing them), yet there is no difference of the Tribute. They have excellent fat pastures, whereof each Aker is worth forty pound, or more to be purchased, and they pay tribute for every head of cattle feeding therein, as two stivers weekely for each Cow for the Paile, the great number whereof may be conjectured, by the plenty of cheese exported out of Holland, and the infinite quantity of cheese and butter they spend at home, being the most common food of all the people: For Oxen, Horses, Sheepe, and other Beasts sold in market, the twelfth part at least of the price is paid for tribute, and be they never so often by the yeere sold to and fro, the new Masters still pay as much. They pay five stivers for every bushel of their owne wheate, which they use to grind in publike Mills: And since they give tribute of halfe in halfe for foode and most necessary things, commonly paying as much for tribute as the price of the thing sold, the imposition must needs be thought greater, laid upon forraigne commodities, serving for pleasure, pride, and luxury: besides that, these tributes are ordinary, and no doubt upon any necessity of the Commonwealth, would be increased. French wines at Middleburg the Staple thereof, and Rhenish wines at Dort the Staple thereof, are sold by priviledge without any imposition, but in all other places men pay as much for the Impost, as for the wine: Onely in the Campe all things for food are sold without any imposition laid upon them: And some, but very few eminent men, have the priviledge to pay no imposition for like things of food. Each Student in the Universitie, hath eighty measures of wine (vulgarly called Stoup) allowed him free from imposition, and for six barrels of Beere, onely payes one Gulden and a quarter, that is, two shillings six pence English, being altogether free from all other tributes, which priviledge the Citizens enjoy in the

## OF THE NETHERLAND TRIBUTES

A.D.  
1605-17.

name of the Students dieting with them, and no doubt the Rector and professors of the University have greater immunity in these kinds.

One thing is hardly to be understood how these Provinces thus oppressed with tributes, and making warre against a most powerfull King, yet at this time in the heate of the warre, (which useth to waste most flourishing Kingdomes, and make Provinces desolate), had farre greater riches, then any most peaceable Countrey of their neighbours, or then ever themselves formerly attained in their greatest peace and prosperitie: Whether it be for that (according to the Poet) *Ingenium mala sæpe movent*, Adversity oft whets the wit, so as by warre they are growne more witty and industrious. Or for that Flanders, and Antwerp the famous City, in former times so drew all trafficke and rich Merchants to them, as all the neighbour Provinces were thereby impoverished, all which trade by the warre, fell to Holland, most strong in shipping; or for that the united Provinces have such commodity by the Sea, and waters running to all Townes, and by the strength of their cities, as in the heat of war they are free from the enemies incursions, or any impediment of their traffick, and seeme rather to carry the war to their confines, then to have it in their bosomes. In which point, it is not unpleasant to remember, how the Hollanders mock the Spaniards, as if, not acquainted with the Northern Sea, & the ebbing and flowing thereof, they thought they might at pleasure come into any haven, & leade their army into any of those Provinces, & that when the Spaniards first entered Holland with their Army, and they cutting the banckes of the sea drowned their Country, the Spaniards were therewith astonished, and gave gold chaines, money, and the most precious things they had to the Country people, on condition they would bring them out of those watery places to firme land. If any man require truer and greater reasons of these Provinces growing rich by warre, let him make curious search thereof, for it is besides my purpose. No doubt, the frequent

[III.iv.287.]

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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Armes of the sea within land, passing by their cities, the innumerable waters (though for the most part standing, or little moving), which by made ditches carry boats and barks to all their Cities, (being there more frequent then in any other part of the World), and to all their Villages, and compasse almost all their pastures, yeeld no small commodity to their Common-wealth. For they having little of their owne to export, and wanting Corne, Wood, or Coales, and many necessities for their use, yet by this onely benefit, and their singular industry, not only most abundantly injoy all commodities of all Nations for their owne use, but by transporting them from place to place with their owne ships (whereof they have an unspeakable number), make very great gaine, being delighted in Navigation by nature (as borne and bred in the midst of Seas and waters), and having by warre, heating their Flegmaticke humours, attained to such skill therein, as for trafficke they saile to the most remote coasts of the world, and in processe of time being growne so bold sea-men, as they will scarcely yeeld in this Art, to the English for many former yeeres excelling therein. So as their tributes imposed on Merchants commodities, must needs be of exceeding great moment.

And not to weary my selfe with the curious search thereof, I will onely adde for conjecture of the generall, one particular related to me by credible men. That in time when Italy suffered dearth, and was supplied with corne from these parts, the tributes of one Citie Amsterdam, in one weeke, exceeded the summe of ten thousand pounds sterling, whence the renew of all tributes in all the Havens and Cities, may bee conjectured to be excessively great. So as adding the impositions upon domesticall things, and the great contributions paid by the enemies subjects upon the confines in time of warre (to purchase the safety of their persons and goods, with freedom to till their grounds from the rapine of freybooting souldiers), a man may well say, that the united Provinces are no lesse able, then they have been daring, to doe great things.

## OF THE LAWS OF THE NETHERLANDS

A.D.  
1605-17.

*The Lawes.*

This Common-wealth is governed by particular lawes and customes of divers places, and by the publike edicts upon divers new occasions made by the States of the Provinces, and these wanting, by the Civill law. The particular Cities are governed after the manner above named. And particularly at Leyden, my selfe have observed the inhabitants of Villages, called by writings set upon posts in the publike streets, to have their controversies judged by the Magistrates of the city, not at any set time of the yeere, but according to the occasions of other affaires, at the Judges pleasure. High injuries and maimes of any member, are punished by the law, which passeth over lighter injuries, not giving such ample satisfactions to the wronged even by word, as the constitutions of the Sweitzers give; so as with them no lesse then in England, quarrels and brawlings are frequent, and often breake out into man-slaughters, wherein those who will revenge themselves by force, first agree betweene themselves, whether they will strike or stab; and then drawing out long knives, which they ordinarily weare, they wound one another by course, according to their agreement, either by slashes or stabs (which they call *schneiden* and *stecken*.) They commonly allow mony to be put out to use, and to the end poore men upon pawnes may borrow small summes for a short time, they admit an Italian or Lumbard (vulgarly so called) in each Citie, who taking a pawne, lends a gulden for a brasse coine called a *doigt* by the weeke. But this Lumbard in the French Church there, is not admitted to receive the Communion. The pawne useth to bee worth a third part more then the mony lent, and one yeer & a day being past after the mony is due, the usurer hath the pawne to himselfe: but before that time, the debter at his pleasure may at any time have his pawne, first paying the borrowed mony, with the use to the day of paiement. And the common report then was, that the States would take this as a publike Office into their owne hands, to help the poore not able to pay, by selling the pawnes to the owners best profit. [III.iv.288.]



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Touching inheritance: Upon the Mothers death, the children may compell their Father to devide his goods with them, least perhaps hee should consume or waste the same. And the wife that brought a dowry, be her husband growne never so rich by his trade, may when shee dies give, not only her dowry, but halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, to her owne Kinsmen after his death, if shee have no children by him; and if she brought no dowry, yet shee hath the same right to dispose of halfe her husbands goods gotten in mariage, and (as is supposed) by their mutuall labor. A sonne may not be disinherited but upon causes approved by the Law, for the Father is bound to give a third part of his estate among his children, and only hath power to dispose of the rest or any part thereof in Legacies at his pleasure.

*The Wives.*

The wives of Holland buy and sell all things at home, and use to saile to Hamburg and into England for exercise of traffique. I heard from credible men, that the Citizens of Enchusen, within thirty yeeres then past, used to marry a wife, and put her away at the yeeres end, if they liked her not; which barbarous custome, Civility and Religion hath since abolished: and at Delph I did see two examples, of men who having buried their wives, did after marry their wives Sisters. It is no rare thing for blowes to happen betweene man and wife, and I credibly heard that they have slight punishments for that fault, and my selfe did heare the Crier summon a man to answer the beating of his wife before a Magistrate.

The multitude of women is farre greater then of men, which I not only formerly heard from others, but my selfe observed to be true, by the daily meetings of both sexes, where a man may see sixty or more women sliding upon the yce, and otherwise recreating themselves, with five or six or much fewer men. But the reason thereof is not easily yeilded, since wee cannot say that the men are much consumed by the Civill warres, their Army consisting altogether of strangers, and few or no Hollanders, except some willingly served, for otherwise they cannot be pressed

## OF THE NETHERLAND WOMEN

A.D.  
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by authority, but onely for the defence of the City or Towne wherein they dwell: except these reasons thereof may bee approved, that the watery Provinces breed flegmaticke humors, which together with the mens excessive drinking, may disable them to beget Males; or that the Women (as I have heard some Hollanders confesse) not easily finding a Husband, in respect of this disparity of the Sexes in number, commonly live unmarried till they be thirty yeeres old, and as commonly take Husbands of twenty yeeres age, which must needs make the Women more powerfull in generation. And the Women not onely take young Men to their Husbands, but those also which are most simple and tractable: so as by the foresaid priviledge of Wives to dispose goods by their last will, and by the contracts in respect of their Dowry, (which to the same end use to be warily drawne,) they keepe their Husbands in a kind of awe, and almost alone, without their Husbands intermedling, not onely keepe their shops at home, but exercise trafficke abroade. My selfe have heard a Wife make answere to one asking for her Husband, that he was not at home, but had newly asked her leave to goe abroade. Nothing is more frequent, then for little girles to insult over their brothers much bigger then they, reproving their doings, and calling them great lubbers, whereof when I talked with some Schollers my companions, as a fashion seeming strange to mee, they were so farre from wondering thereat, as they told me, it was a common thing for Wives to drive their Husbands and their friends out of the doores with scolding, as if they consumed the goods wherein they had a property with their Husbands. I should be too credulous, if I should thinke all Families to be sicke of this disease; and I must confesse, that in few other Nations all Families are altogether free from like accidents: but I may boldly say, that the Women of these parts, are above all other truly taxed with this unnatural dominering over their Husbands.

The Nobility or Gentry hath long been rooted out by the people (as Junius witnesseth, and experience shewes) [III.iv.289.]

A.D.  
1605-17.

## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

after the example of the Sweitzers, especially in Holland and Zealand (for in Friesland they have many, and within land as frequent Families of Gentlemen as other-where.) I could not heare of more then some three Families of Gentlemen in Holland and Zeland (for the Lords of Nassaw are strangers), and these Gentlemen lived after the Plebeian maner of the other inhabitants, so as it were in vaine to seeke for any Order of Knighthood among them. Neither are these Gentlemen (as those of Germany), curious to marry among themselves; for those who come to greatest honour in this Commonwealth, are either Advocates of the Law, or sonnes of Merchants. My selfe did once in the high way meete a Gentlemans Waggon, to whom our Waggon gave the way; and the custome in Holland being, that the Waggon setting forth, give the way to all they meete, till they have gone halfe the way, and after in like sort the way is given to them, and our Waggon having then passed more then halfe the way, the Plebeian Hollanders my companions were much offended with our Waggoner, that contrary to the custome he had done that honor to the Gentlemen. The vulgar sort so despise Gentlemen, or any superiour, if hee affect greatnesse, as upon like occasions they proverbially use to say, If hee bee rich, let him dine twice; as if they despised rich men, of whom they stood not in neede, being content with their owne, after the manner of the Italians, save that the Italians doe it out of pride, these out of clownishnesse, and affecting of equalitie.

*Capitall  
Judgements.*

Touching capitall Judgements: Where the offences are hainous, and such as former ages have not knowne, the Judges inflict exquisite punishments and torments upon the Malefactors. In such sort with strange torments the wicked person was put to death, who killed the Prince of Orange with a Pistoll. Theeves and Pyrates are put to death by hanging, and of all other offenders, they never pardon Pyrates upon any intercession, as destroyers of traffick, upon which their Common-wealth and private estates depend. The man-slayer is beheaded, and buried

## OF THE NETHERLAND JUDGEMENTS

A.D.  
1605-17.

in the same coffin with the man he killed ; and if perhaps he cannot bee apprehended, but escape into some forraigne parts, he may perhaps, but very rarely, obtaine pardon, if he can first bee reconciled with the friends of the man slaine by him : but in case he be apprehended, they cannot, or at least use not, to scandall Justice by pardons. But wilfull murtherers, according to the circumstances of the person killed, or of the more or lesse wicked manner of the act, are put to death with more or lesse torment, and hang in iron chaines till the bodies rot, for terror to others. Coiners of money have their bones broken upon the wheele, a death more usuall in Germany for hainous crimes : but in all torments they commonly mitigate the severity of the Law, more then the Germans doe ; for I have seene some executed in this manner, who were first hanged, and so had no feeling of the paine. Hee that burnes private (and much more publike) houses, and hee that purposeth or threatneth to burne them, though hee never doe the act, is himselfe burned by fier, with a marke upon his head if the act were done ; upon his breast if it were onely purposed ; or upon his mouth, if it were onely threatned. An offender escaped by flight, howsoever hee live long in forraigne parts, yet if hee ever returne, bee the distance of time never so great, he escapeth not unpunished. My selfe have seene a man-slayer, who having lived six yeeres in forraigne parts, and then for love of his Country returning home, was then beheaded, as if the crime had been newly committed. No man will apprehend any malefactor, nor hinder his flight, but rather thinke it a point of humanity to helpe him, only the hangman and base fellowes appointed for that office, lay hold upon capitall offenders, so as very many escape by flight. Neither can any so base or poore man be found, excepting the hangman and his said companions, who for any reward will bee hired to do the Office of an executioner, both these actions being infamous here, as in Germany. Among the apprehenders, the chiefe are called Provosts, and they of old had power to hang vagabonds,



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## FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

till abusing it to revenge and rapine, it was taken from them. Upon the rumour of any crime committed, these men with their servants armed, are sent out into the country, to apprehend the malefactors.

[III.iv.290.] It was credibly told me, that the Emperor Charles the fifth, having suddenly commanded a man to be hanged, who after, by an others confession of the fact, was found guiltles, upon this error made a decree, that no hangman should ever live at the Hage, or neerer the court then Harlam, to the end, he being not at hand, the Magistrate might lesse offend in deliberate or protracted judgments. For as in upper Germany, so in Netherland, there is litle or no distance of time, betweene the offence committed, and the execution of judgment; whereas in England, these judgments are exercised at London once in six weeks, & for the Country, at two or foure set times in the yeere. No man is put to death without confession of the fact, neither doe they as in Germany, force confession by torture, but they condemne upon one witnes, where probable conjectures concur to prove the malefactor guilty.

*Of their  
warfare in  
generall.*

I thinke (saving the judgment of the better experienced in these affaires) that the military discipline of the States Army is very commendable: For since those commonwealthes are most happy, where rewardes and punishments are most justly given, surely the States neither detaine nor delay the paiments due to the soldiers, nor leave unpunished their insolencies, nor yet their wanton injuries, either towards the subjects, or the Enemy yeelding upon conditions. In the camp all things for food are free from all impositions, so as a man may there live more plentifully or more frugally then in any of their Cities. And besides the soldiers pay duly given them, all sick & wounded persons are sent to their Hospitals, vulgarly called Gast-hausen (that is, houses for Guests) where all things for health, food, and clenlines of the body, are phisically, plentifully, and neatly ministred to them; of which kinde of houses fairely & stately built, they have one in each

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City. Also when they are recovered of their sicknesses and wounds, they are presently sent backe to the Campe or their winter Garrisons. They who are maimed in the warres, and made thereby unfit for service, have from them a Pension for life, or the value of the Pension in ready mony. On the other side they so punish the breakers of martiall discipline, as when bandes of Soldiers are conducted to any service or Garrison through the midst of their Cities or Villages, not one of them is so hardy as to leave his rancke, to doe the least wrong to any passenger, or to take so much as a chicken or crust of bread from the Subjects by force. And while my selfe was in those parts, I remember that upon the giving up of a Castle into the States hands, after Proclamation made, that no Souldier should doe the least injury to any of those who had yeelded the same, a souldier wantonly taking one of their hats away, or changing his hat with one of them, was presently hanged up for this small insolency.

For warre by land, they have no great power, (I speake particularly of the united Provinces, not of Netherland in generall, which we reade to have of old raised an army of eighty thousand men). For since the subjects cannot be pressed to the warre, but when their owne City or Towne is besieged, and in that case their Magistrate going before them, and leading them to the wals; and since the number of them is very small, who willingly follow that profession, hereupon almost all their army consisted of strangers, and long experience hath concluded mercenary Souldiers to be unfit for great Conquests. So as wise men thinke for this reason, that the Commonwealth of the States, is more fit, by due observing of their leagues and amity with confederates and neighbours, to defend their owne, then ambitiously to extend their Empire by invading others. They have heavy Friesland Horses, more fit to endure the Enemy charging, then to pursue him flying, (I speake not of Flanders and the other Provinces yeelding good light Horses); but all the waies and passages being fenced in with ditches of water, they have at home lesse

*Their Foote  
and Horse.*

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*Of their  
navall power.*

[III.iv.291.]

use of Horse, which makes them commonly sell these Horses in forraigne parts, using onely Mares to draw their Waggon and for other services of peace, which Mares are very beautifull and good.

The Inhabitants of these Provinces, by nature, education, and art, are most fit for Navigation; & as in the exercise of all Arts, they are no lesse witty then industrious, so particularly they have great skill in casting great Ordinance, in making gunpowder, cables, ankers, and in building ships, of all which things and whatsoever is necessary to navall warre, they have great abundance, the matter being bought in forraigne parts, but wrought by their owne men at home: So as they are most powerfull at Sea, neither hath any King a Navy superior or equall to theirs, excepting onely the King of England. And for conjecture of their generall power at Sea, I will be bold to adde what I have credibly heard: That one City of Amsterdam at this time had some hundred shippes for the warre, (or men of warre), and some foure hundred ships of Merchants well armed for defence, besides (as they said) some ten thousand Barkes, or without all doubt an incredible number.

Therefore if perhaps the united Provinces forgetting their old league with England, and our late merit in defending their liberty, shall at any time resolve to have warre with England, (which for the good of both Nations God forbid), then are such bloody fights at Sea like to happen as former Ages never knew. Yet the course of those times whereof I write, gave small probability of any such event like to happen, for many reasons combining our minds together. First the happy amity that hath beene time out of mind betweene our Nations. Next the bond of love on our part, towards those wee have preserved from bondage, and the like bond of their thankfulness towards us, which howsoever ambition may neglect or despise, yet never any Nation was more obliged to another in that kind, and so long as the memory thereof can live, it must needs quench all malice betweene

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us. Besides, that they being not able to raise an Army of their owne men by Land, aswell for want of men, as because it must consist altogether of voluntaries, no man being bound to serve in the warre, except his Towne be besieged, and his owne Magistrate leade him to the walles; they have hitherto happily used, and may ever so use, our men for souldiers, (wherein Britany aboundeth above all other Nations, neither doe they by much so esteeme the auxiliary bands of any other Nation as of ours). Lastly, in that they wanting many necessaries of their owne, and yet abounding in all things by trafficke, cannot long subsist without the freedome thereof; and nothing is so powerfull to diminish their wealth, and to raise civill discords among them, as the barring of this freedome, which then seemed more easie or lesse difficult to the King of England, then to any other neighbour Prince, or (I will boldly say) to all other neighbour Princes joined together against them, (they having strength of their owne to maintaine that freedome by Sea, and being able with the onely support of Britany, to defend themselves by land against all other Enemies). For they had onely three passages to Sea, one by Vlishing in Zeland, another by Brill, upon the South-west Coast of Holland, and a third narrow passage by the Iland Fly, to the Tassell, on the North-east side of Holland, whereof the two first were guarded by the said two strong Cities, with the Forts belonging to them, all kept by Garrisons of English Souldiers, and the stopping or restraining of the third, seemed lesse difficult to the Navy of Britany, then to the power of any other Enemy. At this time when I passed through these parts (of which time I write) the united Provinces much complained of the English for taking their goods at Sea, & hindering their free traffick: wherein they should have considered, that they caused the warre with Spaine, which we bore onely to second them. And if our Merchants were forced to leave the trafficke of Spaine, where they had great freedome and amitie onely for their sakes, how could they thinke it just and equal,



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that they should freeleie supplie Spaine with food and necessities for warre? so as the very commodities of England could not then be vented into Spaine, but onely by Flemmish (and some few Scottish) ships and Marriners, except they desired to make the warre Eternall, by which they onely grew rich, in which case our project was more just, who for a time made war, that we might after live in peace. And whereas they then complained that not only prohibited wares carried to prohibited places, but also other their commodities carried to friends, were spouled by our men of war, (which perhaps through the insolency of Captaines and Souldiers, might sometimes happen); no doubt these injuries were rare, and never borne with by the Queene or inferiour Magistrates; and they could not bee ignorant how hardly the insolency of Souldiers can be [III.iv.292.] restrained by land, & much more by sea. For all good Englishmen I may professe; that they abstaining from prohibited traffick, no good Englishmen wished good successe or impunity to any English ships exercising piracy, especially against so neare confederates. These complaints I well remember to have been at that time frequent in those parts, I know not how since appeased or continuing. And because the Q. of England had disbursed much treasure for their safety, which they were bound to repay at the end of the warre, and threatned to deduct these spoiles out of the same, many then feared, lest this difference might in processe of time breed discord between England and those Provinces. Also because the Townes and Forts given to the Queene as pledges for money disbursed, were then kept with weake Garrisons, over-topped in number by the very Citizens, it was then thought, that the States might take them by force, if our Governours had not watchfull eye upon their dessignes, and changes of counsell. In generall, good men on both sides are to wish the continuance of Peace betweene England and these Provinces, by which both Commonwealths have long had, and may still have unspeakable benefit, and that the rather, because we never yet had

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warre but perpetual amity together, neither can any war prove more bloody or mischievous to either part, then that betweene our selves. To conclude, happie be the makers, cursed the breakers of our peace.

FINIS.

Besides the faults literall, and easie to be understood, these errors have escaped.

[The pages and lines refer to those of the original text.]

#### PART. I.

Page 13, line 40, reade Poets. p. 15, l. 47, r. 867. p. 45, l. 37, r. house of. p. 58, l. 34, r. on the other. p. 69, l. 54, r. she paid. p. 83, l. 53, r. of Walnut-tree. p. 89, l. 18, r. Georgii, and l. 26, r. Foscari, and l. 34, r. Cernari, and l. 35, r. Orimani. p. 90, l. 41, r. lower part. p. 115, l. 27, r. Puteus. p. 124, l. 37, r. ninth Gate. p. 132, l. 3, r. Moles (4). p. 150, l. 29, r. del Fiore. p. 183, l. 4, put out these words, The first day in the morning I rode thither. p. 258, l. 5, r. Naxos, and Meteline ninety.

#### PART. II.

P. 14, l. 43, r. Belike. p. 31, l. 50, r. possessed. p. 32, l. 2, r. Longford, and l. 28, r. one hundred. p. 42, l. 33, r. Erington. p. 47, l. 33, had that. p. 53, l. 41, r. seven pounds, and l. 42, r. three pound. p. 54, l. 27, r. Cetyll. p. 61, l. 33, r. weeke each. p. 69, l. 22, r. thousand pounds. p. 77, l. 21, r. five: on. p. 89, l. 17, r. Lordship. p. 90, l. 49, r. decrie. p. 98, l. 17, r. submitted. p. 101, l. 7, r. giving. p. 106, l. 3, r. daily. p. 109, l. 47, r. which. p. 120, l. 20, r. Guire. p. 121, l. 39, r. these. p. 131, l. 17, r. adherents. p. 137, l. 25, r. them: for. p. 138, l. 7, r. onely as. p. 145, l. 16, r. alca. p. 152, l. 34, put out, give us leave. p. 156, l. 46, r. his. p. 168, l. 28, r. 14. p. 169, l. 46, r. inaccessible. p. 185, l. 24, r. signed. p. 229, l. 10, r. your. p. 257, l. 11, r. Barkley.

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